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THE CHINESE EXODUS



THE CHINESE EXODUS

BY
Professor J. C. DARUVALA



HIND KITABS
PUBLISHERS : BOMBAY

FIRST PUBLISHED 1944

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BOMBAY AND PUBLISHED BY V. KULKARNI, HIND KITABS, 267 ~~W~~ CORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY**

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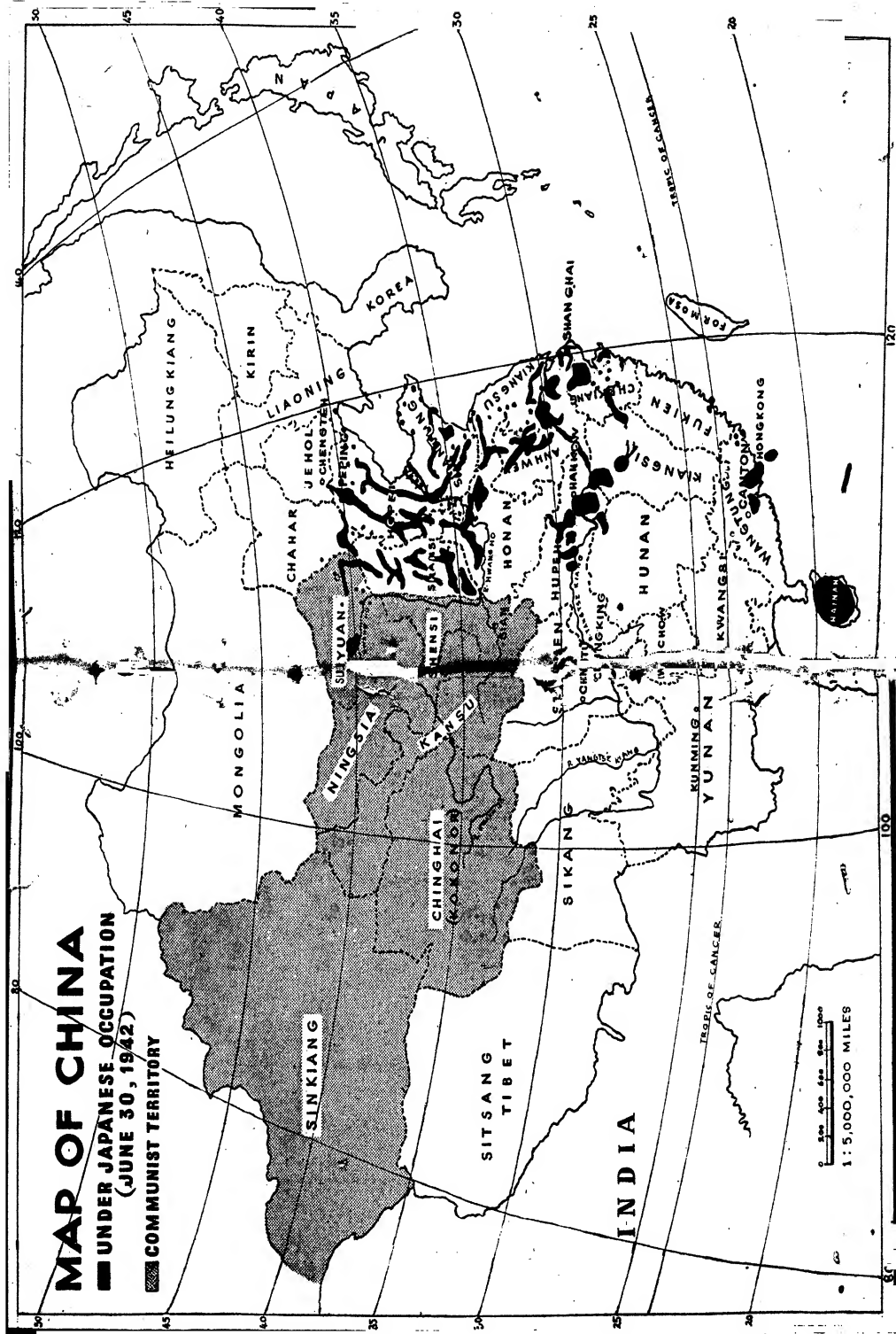
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MAP OF CHINA

■ UNDER JAPANESE OCCUPATION
(JUNE 30, 1942)

■ COMMUNIST TERRITORY



FOREWORD

A brief visit to a foreign country, sometimes extending only to a couple of weeks, is usually considered sufficient justification—or excuse, to publish a book on it. It is possible that the foreigner, from his detached point of view, sees more than the native. On the other hand, in China he may live in isolation amongst the small community of his own countrymen, and may, therefore, see very little of the country and its people, except what is obvious on the surface, and may also take his views from those of his countrymen, who, from longer residence in the country, are known as ‘old China hands’.

This book is an attempt to depict Chinese life with sympathy and understanding, revealing the mental make-up and outlook of the people, attempting to present *their* point of view, with the independent reflections of the writer. It is easier for an Asiatic to understand the life and background of China, and the writer has had many opportunities of correct observation from the Chinese angle.

At this critical moment in her history, much interest is being taken by the outside world in China and her people—in fact, too much! For the Chinese rightly resent the overbearing patronage of designing foreign interests. It is difficult to get a true account of China; the present concentration on items of news interest verging on the sensational, rather than a deeper and more painstaking study of conditions, is liable to lead to a wrong interpretation of occurrences. With rare exceptions, foreigners tend to misunderstand the position, and the Chinese Government does not indulge in ‘propaganda’, and hence its point of view and the point of view of the people never get across. This is partly due to the Chinese traditional idea which prevents the people from directly contradicting others, particularly if those others happen to be friends from nations with which they form a united front; and the Chinese custom of excessive self-deprecation does not permit them to praise their own strong points.

The much abused and much publicized censorship cuts both ways: it exhibits the caution and disinclination of the Government to permit statements, true or otherwise,

that may inadvertently damage the cause of the nation and the war-effort, to be spread abroad, but it also leads to the propagation of sensational stories abroad in the absence of authenticated facts.

In India there are a number of books in circulation, explaining the point of view of the Chinese Communists, which is good and desirable in itself, but unfortunately it is often accompanied by irresponsible charges against the Kuomintang Party. Communism is attractive to almost all thinking persons of this generation, but even if we believe that many of China's ills could be remedied by the Communist system, that should not blind us to the other side of the picture; we should also attempt to see the Kuomintang point of view, and at least realize that such a point of view *can* exist—which is more than most critics of China at present are prepared to concede. It will then be possible to understand the strong antagonism of the Kuomintang to any other party in the country that sets up a parallel government, which they consider will in the long run lead to total disruption, and a disastrous weakening of the possibilities of unifying the country. The Communists also have their grievances, and are convinced of the imperativeness of their actions. When taking into consideration the necessity of a united China, it should be remembered that the Communists at their own estimate, number not more than 60 millions out of a total of 450 millions, that is, they form a minority.

It is undoubtedly a fact of human psychology, that one blemish or fault blinds the on-looker to the good points that may exist alongside. This clearly applies to China of today, where people, prejudiced by what they consider the ill-treatment of the Communists, fail to see anything good in the country and its administration. The magnificent, voluntary trek of fifty million people from the centres of culture and comfort in the east to the backwaters of the sleepy, unknown interior—forming the *Greatest Exodus* known in history, stands out as the most prominent landmark in the present anti-Axis war, exhibiting the democratic *will* of the people in a real People's War. The true character of the nation that has kept it going for the last seven years in spite of ruthless aggression by the enemy, and which will ~~keep~~ keep it going for a still longer period, is

something that cannot but draw the admiration of anyone who tries to see it in its true perspective. And if this book attempts to do anything, it is to give that true perspective of the entire picture which is China today.

Two unfortunate incidents in the history of China have had tragic repercussions on its steady progress towards solidarity—the abdication of Dr Sun Yat-Sen in 1912 of the Presidentship to avoid bloodshed and civil war, and his death in 1925 just at the moment when he had taken up the thread again which he had lost in 1912. The first set-back was followed by a barren period of 12 years (1912-1924) when reactionary interests set the clock back, and his death led to a decade of internal dissensions. The prejudice and disfavour with which orthodox world opinion has always looked on rising nations, including Turkey and Russia, has been and still is equally persistent in the case of China. But if at a critical period in the history of modern times the erstwhile ‘uncouth, outcaste’ Bolsheviks could be considered as the *saviours* of modern civilized life, and be ‘honoured’ with a full-fledged partnership in the United Nations group, there is no reason why a growing China may not rise to an equal position, specially in the Asiatic sphere. At no time in the history of modern China has it been more important for the outside world to have a true picture of the prevailing conditions of China in her crisis, than it is today.

J. C. D.

SEPTEMBER, 1944

CHAPTER I

China-Unity in Diversity

When the first Japanese bombs burst on Shanghai, China was still something of a mystery to Western eyes. The Chinese of the coastal cities themselves cared little and knew less about the vast interior of the country. To the great exodus which swept ahead of the Japanese hordes, the sleepy inland districts owe their awakening. With the War everything changed: a nation on the march began its trek towards the distant hills—there to set up schools, colleges, industries and its War-time Government.

In view of the little knowledge that existed about China—outside of those who were there either as missionaries, or were 'old China hands'—it is not surprising that the blockade which practically stopped all contact with the outside world, should have given rise to many misconceptions about the present conditions; *e.g.*, the mistaken belief that Japan has occupied anything between three-fourths and nine-tenths of the actual area of pre-war China. A very casual look at the map clearly shows that Japanese possessions cover about one-third of the area, and as Japanese occupation forms small islands even in occupied territory the actual area under Japanese occupation must be even less.

According to prevailing notions unoccupied China is further disintegrated by factional governments, including Communists and War-Lords. Undoubtedly it is a fact that from time to time the Communists have set up parallel governments, of a transient nature, but even at its best the Communists claim to have held sway over less than a quarter of the territory. The War-Lords have been liquidated by Chiang Kai-shek long ago and are absolutely non-existent today.

The land area of China is about 7,939 thousand sq. miles and covers about one-twelfth of the land area of the world. More than three-fourths of the country is mountainous, over 3,000 ft. above sea-level, particularly the central, western and northern districts, making the terrain suitable for resistance against Japanese aggression. There is a comparative paucity of railways and highways in Free China, but this is compensated by the extensive waterways of over 100,000 miles including the Yangtze-Kiang, the

longest river in the world. China's population of over 450 millions, that is over one-fifth of the population of the world, is another factor that helps it in the war of resistance, through its unlimited man-power.

Though one of the most thickly populated countries in the world, with a very high birth-rate of about 37 per 1,000, the average life expectation in China is only 30 years and the mortality is as high as 26 per 1,000. This is due to the unsettled conditions that have prevailed in China, and the difficult food situation in some parts.

The mere fact that Chinese territory is extensive is no reason why China should not stand as a united nation. There are undoubtedly large differences in language and ways of living between one district and another, but they are not as pronounced as those in some other federated states, where the differences in both race and language are much wider. The Chinese language belongs to the Indo-Chinese group of languages, and is also spoken in some parts of Assam (India), Burma, French Indo-China, Tibet, Thailand and Annam. Although the Chinese script, which was originally derived from picture symbols, is the main script, the phonetic Devnagri script of India (derived from Sanskrit) is also used in many of the southern regions, and the Turkish-Arabic-Persian script is used in the North-west. The Chinese script is not phonetic; each character represents a separate object or a concept. The same script is used in all provinces though the spoken language varies considerably in pronunciation, thus giving rise to the various provincial spoken dialects, which are so different that it is often hardly possible for a native of one province to understand another of a different province. Even in the same dialect the phonetic sounds are not clearly distinguishable, as the same sound with slight shades of difference represents entirely different objects or concepts. Added to this is the further complication of the 'tones', which is an exclusive characteristic of the Chinese language. The same phonetic sound, representing a word, has different meanings depending on the tone in which it is uttered, although each of these 'tones' has a separate character to represent it in the script, forming distinctive individual words. Thus, talking even amongst themselves, the Chinese often fail to understand which

meaning of the spoken word is to be taken, and this gives rise to the common Chinese practice of tracing the character on the palm of the left hand with the index finger of the right hand, to clarify the identity of the sound uttered. Earliest records of written Chinese go back to 1,400 B.C. with inscriptions on bones and on tortoise shells. The language has passed through a series of evolutions from Archaic to Ancient, and then to modern Kuoyo, or the Peiping dialect, otherwise known as Mandarin, the National language of China, which has only 400 possible syllables but different combinations and variations of the four tones. These four tones, as pronounced, are (1) Flat, short, just missing being nasal; (2) Rising; (3) Falling—Rising; and (4) Falling—a throat tone. Some of the other dialects have as many as eight tones. The obstacle that these varieties of dialects present, has been overcome by making the Peiping dialect the standard language for all official purposes, and the lingua franca of the country. One language one people, is a fact today.

The history of China also lays emphasis on the evolution of a unified country. China is often considered to be a country without any definite history, in fact a country given over to anarchy and disruption. The average man outside knows little of the history of China, beyond the fact that it has one of the oldest existing civilizations. Probably few realize how ancient it is, beyond a vague notion of the fossil of the Peikin Man, which is placed back to a period of about 50,000 years ago. The Chinese Theory of the Creation of the World is very interesting as a parallel to the cosmogony of other religions and it is also interesting to compare it with the Theory of Evolution. Pan Ku is a combination of the biblical Adam and the Creator. He took 18,000 years to create the universe out of the five elements of water, fire, wood, metal and the soil. As he increased in height and stature at an enormous rate every day, his size was something like 7,000 miles in height as well as in breadth at the end of this period. At his death his body was transformed into the various physical features of the universe; that introduces an interesting primitive explanation of Nature and the Creation. His head became mountains, his breath and voice turned into winds and thunder; his eyes and

beard were transformed into planets of the Solar System, including the Sun, the moon and the stars; his blood became rivers, and his flesh turned into the soil; his hairs were the plants and the trees, his bones turned into mineral and precious stones. During the course of creation he was assisted by four animals, the dragon, the phoenix, the unicorn and the tortoise, who became the forbears of the animal kingdom. In China the Dragon has always been considered a symbol of the Creation, and it is found in statues and paintings in temples as an object of reverence, a symbol of good fortune.

Recorded history traces the Yellow River Valley civilization back to beyond 3000 B.C. Organized modern society with the feudal system as an institution, dates back to 1300 B.C. The different dynasties that succeeded one another and held sway over the central basin of civilization, arose through the strength and virility of tribes in the outlying provinces supplanting in succession the ruling families of the centre, who degenerated and declined through easy prosperous living. Some of these dynasties established peace and prosperity to such an extent, that the philosophers of the period considered these to be Golden Ages, in spite of the rule of the feudal system. Confucius, one of the earliest and best known of Chinese philosophers, based the whole of his philosophy on the greatness and flourishing conditions of the age when Chou introduced a perfect rule, that is held up as a model for later ages. About 22 B.C., an extensive Chinese Empire as a single State came into existence. This Empire passed through various vicissitudes, through internal dissensions, and was subjected to foreign inroads and invasions. Established by Chin Shih Huang-ti, it gave the country its foreign name 'China' from the first name of the Founder. In the language of the country, China is known as Chung-hua or the Flowery Middle Kingdom. In the tenth century of our era the Mongols started their inroads, and the Manchus from the North set up their Empire towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Religion in the accepted sense of the word has scarcely ever had a stronghold in the country, and Chinese ideas and conceptions are not restricted by any narrow hide-bound theological doctrines. Their principles of philosophy

enter their every-day life, as religion does in other communities, and give China its power of absorbing all foreign conquerors. Chinese culture forms the basis of one of the oldest existing civilizations of the world, apart from the Indian civilization, and as Chinese civilization had reached a much higher stage than any of the others it came in contact with, it influenced foreigners and foreign conquerors to give up their own inferior culture in favour of the higher Chinese civilization.

The final break-up of the Empire started with the decline of the Manchu dynasty, which, towards the end, became tyrannical, oppressive and autocratic. European aggression started from 1830 onwards, and helped to weaken the Empire and strengthen the revolutionary movement within China, which started towards the end of the last century—about the same time that Japan seized Formosa and Korea. A weak powerless China might have been partitioned between the Western Powers and Japan, but U. S. A.'s Open Door Policy formed the first guarantee of China's territorial integrity. From the beginning of the present century the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement gained ground, and ultimately established the Republican form of Government that is unifying and consolidating the nation and its territories.

The history of contemporary China begins with Dr Sun Yat-Sen's attempted revolution of 1895 against the Manchu Dynasty. Early attempts were not successful, and the outlawed revolutionists held their National Congress at Tokyo, in Japan. Finally, by the end of 1911 the revolution succeeded, the Dowager Empress abdicated, and Dr Sun Yat-Sen became the first President of the Chinese Republic. His political philosophy was too socialististic and radical for his times. His three People's Political Principles are: (1) The Principle of National Democracy, meaning a China free from foreign domination; (2) Principle of Democratic Freedom implying internal political freedom, including freedom of speech and freedom of the press; and (3) the Principle of Democratic Livelihood, implying the Socialist principle of equal opportunity, and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. These principles being considered anti-capitalistic, the capitalists rallied against Dr Sun Yat-Sen,

and within a month and a half of his accession as President, in order to avoid civil war he had to resign in February 1912 in favour of Yuan Shih Kai, the most powerful general of the late Manchu Dynasty, who, with his large army and with the support of reactionary capitalist interests banned Dr Sun Yat-Sen's Kuomintang Party (which had gained a majority at the election), outlawed the leaders, and declared the whole movement illegal. Yuan's idea was to set himself up as Emperor and re-introduce the feudal system, and to gain his object he played into the hands of foreign capitalists including the Japanese. Fortunately Yuan died in 1915, before he could ascend the throne, and was succeeded by Li Yuan Huang as President. Dr Sun Yat-Sen led a number of insurrections against the reactionary government, but they all failed. After the World War of 1914-18, there was again an attempt to partition China, but the strong agitation and insurrections led by the Chinese students forced the representatives of the reactionary Government to refrain from signing any treaty that would lead to the disruption of the state. The capitalist trend of the government caused a new party to be formed, which consisted mainly of landless tenant-peasants who attempted agrarian reform by overthrowing the feudal system with its rich oppressive landlords. As the idea and doctrines of this party were closely akin to Russian Socialism, the party became known as the Communist Party.

Dr Sun Yat-Sen's efforts came very near success in 1925 when he set up his government in the South and was gaining ground, but unfortunately he died. Chiang Kai-shek became his successor in 1926 and undertook the laborious task of unifying the country against the greatest odds, with practically no support even from his own party. Intrigues and jealousy led him to resign more than once, but each time he was recalled by the nation as there was no one to replace him. He always returned with enhanced prestige and greater confidence of the nation.

In connexion with the Communist Party, it is interesting to note that in 1922, Joffe, Special Envoy of the Moscow Soviet Government, came over to China and had long discussions with Dr Sun Yat-Sen on the question of the Communist Party in China. In 1923 they made a joint

statement to the effect that Communism and the Soviet system of Government were unsuited to China and could not be introduced, and therefore the statement called on the Communist Party to join the Kuomintang. The two parties were amalgamated in 1924, but after the death of Dr Sun Yat-Sen, when conditions were very uncertain, the Communist Party set up separate provincial governments again, and were probably justified in doing so in view of the way in which they were let down by the two earlier Presidents. Under the disturbed conditions that existed from 1919 onwards, the Communists attempted to unify the country under their own system, but only managed to persuade less than one-fifth of the population to adopt Communism. In his attempt to unify China, Chiang Kai-shek, from 1926 had to face opposition from the War-Lords, who set themselves up as independent provincial autocrats, and he had also to win over or put down the Communist Party; this he considered necessary in order to form a united nation. Of the two parallel governments, the Kuomintang and the Communist, the Kuomintang had a larger hold both over the population and the territory; the Communists, at their own estimate, had a following of sixty millions out of a population of 450 millions. As attempts at collaboration between the two parties failed, relations became strained and various expeditions were sent out against the Communists by Chiang Kai-shek. As their position became weak and untenable in face of the stronger Kuomintang forces, the Communists who had established themselves in the South, had to withdraw to the thinly populated and remote Northern Provinces, making a wonderful trek of over 7,000 miles across the country.

The Sian incident in 1935 brought out clearly the similarity, if not identity, of aims and objects of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists. Chang Shueh-Liang, a Kuomintang General, was sent by Chiang Kai-shek on an expedition against the Communists, but he decided to come to terms with them. Personal ambition was probably one of his motives. He lured Chiang Kai-shek to come over to Sian on the Communist border, and then kidnapped him. The Communists realized the danger to the country without a strong ruler like Chiang Kai-shek, realized too

the difficulty of getting any leader to replace him who would have the confidence of the nation and also hold the Generalissimo's liberal socialist views. They were therefore one of the parties that pressed for his immediate release.

Chang Shueh-Liang was out to retrieve the disgrace he had suffered in public estimate in the past. His former defeats, and the poor show put up by his Tungpei or North-Western army at the time of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, were still fresh in the minds of the people, and just before the *coup*, in spite of the size and equipment of his army which was definitely stronger than any Communist force opposing him, he had suffered two defeats at their hands before coming to terms with them. His reputation was therefore at its lowest ebb. This was probably the main motive that impelled him to kidnap the Generalissimo, to save his skin and his reputation. When he planned the *coup* it is true he had no intention of killing the Generalissimo or replacing him, and he probably did not realize the seriousness of his action as affecting Chinese unity, even the very existence of China as a nation. He had obviously miscalculated, and he must have realized that to the full when the Communists pressed for the release of the Generalissimo; and this led to his retraction and apologies, in his attempts at excuses to vindicate the false position he had put himself in. The Kuomintang Government at Nanking was absolutely taken aback at the daring kidnapping *coup*, and too confused and overwhelmed to take definite action. After some hesitation, it permitted Madame Chiang Kai-shek to fly over to Sian, and she arrived there to return back with the Generalissimo and his erstwhile repentant captor.

After the Sian incident, both sides were inclined to come to a suitable compromise, and just before the present Japanese aggression started, the Communists came to terms and agreed to join the Central Kuomintang Government in its war of resistance against Japan. The territories of the Chinese Communists, heretofore termed Soviet China, were now to be included in a special area called the Border Districts. The Communist armies took a leading part in the struggle against Japan, acquitting themselves very creditably in various actions in the North, where they were

stationed, and where the Japanese attacks started. But unfortunately trouble started again very soon. With the loss of the Eastern sea-board provinces, with their heavy industries and flourishing trade, the Central Government found itself bereft of practically all its sources of revenue. Consequently the entire Government organization, including the supply of military equipment, suffered badly. Even as late as 1944, a good part of the Chinese Army was ill-equipped and poorly dressed, and the pay given to the army personnel was extremely poor, almost insignificant; but to the glory of the Chinese Army, the fight goes on, for they fight as patriots, not as mercenaries. The whole of the Chinese Army was at that time starved of supplies, and the Communists considered that some of the Kuomintang leaders deliberately starved them, supplying them with even less than the very little given to the Kuomintang forces. Besides, the Communists, who had established themselves in the Northern Border Districts, had in the past introduced a Communist system of Government and had then been in a position to secure a fair revenue with which they could feed and equip their armies; their dissatisfaction was therefore all the greater. They once more started raising taxes, but the Central Government considered that this amounted to the breaking of the terms of the February 1937 agreement, and tantamount to the setting up of a parallel government. By order of Chiang Kai-shek the new Fourth Army, that is the Communist Army, was disbanded, and as there was some fear of dissatisfaction amongst the Communists taking an active turn, a part of the Central Government's army was shifted to strategic positions dominating Communist territory. From 1940 till the beginning of 1944 the position continued to be unsatisfactory, but by the middle of 1944 another *rapprochement* took place and a common front was organized again. Fortunately the Central Government is in a better position now to supply arms, munitions and equipment to the Army, as they have set up various war industries in the interior that are working full swing, and supply over 90 per cent of the present fighting equipment of the Chinese Army—however scanty that may be.

Communists are not excluded from participating in Government Administration, as they have representatives

on the People's Political Council which takes the place of Parliament or Legislative Assembly. They also have a large share in the Provincial Administration of Border Territories with about a one-third representation on these Provincial Councils.

Besides the Communists there are two other parties in China, the Nationalist Socialist Party which advocated a reformed type of Democratic Government, and the Chinese Youth Party which advocated the early introduction of Dr Sun Yat-Sen's Constitutional regime. Although both of these Parties exist today, they decided at the outbreak of hostilities in 1937, to join up with the united front and be identified completely with the Central Government for the duration of the war.

China today, therefore, forms the basis of a strong united country. Complete consolidation cannot take place till after the war, but from the way things are moving at present a strong China can be seen evolving from and in spite of the unsettled conditions of past centuries. The annexed chronological table gives an idea of the growth and development of China's Culture, and her history, with comparative references to the position and conditions of other nations during the same period.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

CHINA		ASIA	EUROPE
B.C. 2700	Huang Ti or Yellow Emperor (Lengendary)	Indus Civilization of Mohenjo-daro(India)	Uncivilized, nomadic life.
„ 2200	Hsia Dynasty	Chaldean Empire. Aryan migrators settle in Iran & India	„ „
„ 1500 to 1100	Shang or Ying Kingdom	Assyrian Empire. Vedic Learning and Sciences established in India	Earliest Greek Civilization & Trojan War
„ 1100 to 500	Feudal Age. Chou & Ch' un Ch'iu Period The Age of Philosophy. Confucius, Lao Tze.	Indian Aryan Civilization reaches its zenith; The Epic ; Jainism & Buddhism. Israelite Nation of the Old Testament. Iranian Empire spreads into Europe.	Homer's Epics.
500–200	„ „	Mauryan Empire in India. Asoka.	Plato, Aristotle & beginning of Greek Philosophy and Learning. Alexander the Great.
B.C. 200 to 0 A.D.	Ch'iu Dynasty, first Empire. Han Dynasty. Buddhism enters China. Invention of hair-pen and writing materials, paper and stone-cut printing.	Gupta Empire in India. Spread of Indian culture and Buddhism abroad as far as Japan.	Roman Empire.
A.D. 0 to 500	Three Kingdoms. Block Printing introduced		Spread of Christianity
„ 500 to 1400	Sui, Tang, Sung, Yuan (Mongol), & Ming Dynasties. Printing of the Classics, invention of moveable types, wooden & metal.	Rise of Muslim Power in Asia, and Muslim Invasions in India.	Dark or Middle Ages. Culture at a standstill.
„ 1423		Spread of Islamic Culture from Arabia, relaying to the world decimals and numerals that originated from the Indian Vedas.	Block Printing starts in Europe..

CHAPTER II

The Kuomintang : Principles and Administration

Each age has, with a self-centred vision, enlarged on its own Utopian perfection as compared with its predecessors. The achievement of material comforts through electricity and other inventions seemed to have justified the last century's complacent claim to have attained the zenith of well-being and material prosperity. With the coming of age of the present century, we belittle the favours of materialism, and pursue the new semi-spiritual 'isms' of individual freedom, and look askance on any system of society or government, which has not kept abreast the sweeping flood-tide of bustling modernism, but still ripples calmly in the back-waters of older systems. Our 'ism'-laden minds lead us to the existing misconception that the poor people of China have been oppressed for centuries, and are too abject and servile to protest against such oppression. China has never had absolute or despotic Government. The Chinese system of administration is based on the Chinese family system as a unit, which gives freedom without intervention of external authority, and provides a good training ground in self-government. For centuries in China each family, each village, each district and each province has been free to run things in the way it likes, leading to considerable internal freedom and independence. In fact class distinctions as they exist in most other countries, are hardly noticeable in China.

This may seem paradoxical as we have all heard of the poverty of the Chinese 'coolie'. The term 'coolie' is of foreign growth and started in the westernized cities like Hongkong and Shanghai. The degradation of the coolie has been brought about through the forced introduction of opium under a foreign capitalist system. Contrary to wide-spread assumptions, opium was neither grown nor consumed in China, till the Western Powers in the last century, and Japan during the present war, forced it on a protesting but helpless country, to deteriorate the character and physical conditions, and foster the growth of an impoverished opium-addicted 'coolie' class. In Free China, the severest punishments including death, are meted out to opium growers, vendors and consumers.

Due to the excessive population of China, human

labour is cheap, and is, therefore, not treated on the same footing as it is in other industrialized countries where there is an actual shortage of labour. It may be a pitiful sight to see a number of pullers towing a heavy sailing ship against the wind or the flow of the river, bent double, panting, sweating, and treading barefoot over burning sand, jagged-edge rocks and rough pebbles; or shivering in the biting cold of winter as they splash through knee-deep, icy water. These conditions, shocking to the modern mind, will end when mechanical transport replaces 'man-power'. In the countryside it is *not surprising* to see a poor man, more particularly the impoverished scholar, sitting and smoking, or drinking tea, in a tea-shop or a roadside inn, with the highest in the land, that is, some Government Official, chatting freely with him on an equal footing. Besides, China has never known that class-distinction which is based exclusively on riches. The intellectuals or scholars, however poor they be, have always formed the upper class, and in spite of the impact of the West, China still considers the rich merchant inferior to the scholar. Under war conditions the scholar can no longer keep up the appearances of a higher status, and he falls in line with the poorer class in his way of living, even to the extent of doing his own domestic work like them; for today a government servant or a professor may earn even less than a rickshaw puller.

The Chinese labourer has always felt a sense of dignity in his work and he often considers that he is favouring you by working for you—you with all the money you pay him cannot favour him. This spirit is noticeable where a rickshaw puller will refuse a fare, however much you offer him, if he feels tired or has earned enough for the day. A domestic servant, too, will refuse to be treated on any footing except that of equality, will sit on a chair in your room and talk to you, and at the least sign of reprimand will take offence and quit.

The principles on which the Kuomintang Government is based, the San Min Chu I of Dr Sun Yat-Sen, is comprised of principles of absolute democracy, which are nearer the idea of a perfect democracy than any other system. The San Min Chu I (the Three Peoples Principles) is the democratic basis of the Kuomintang administrative structure.

The first principle, of Nationalism, is based on the fact that China has suffered from exploitation and oppression of foreigners from very early times; 'Formerly we were the slaves of the Manchus,' said Dr Sun Yat-Sen; 'now we are the slaves of the whole world.' This principle attempts to join the nation together in its fight for freedom from bondage, to regain absolute independence, so as to place China on level with other nations. Peace is the result of justice and equity, and unless that principle is applied by other nations to China, the peace of the East and of the whole world will be jeopardized. The second principle of Democracy, is not just an attempt to imitate the Western forms of freedom. The freedom of the people is provided by the autonomy of the Chinese village and 'Hsien', that is the district, which has stood the test of thousands of years. The right of revolution is an inherent privilege of the people, and is further supported by various checks, controls and sanctions which they exercise over the government, and which maintain their political life against any tendency in the administration to be despotic. The third principle, of Livelihood, is based on socialism, although Dr Sun Yat-Sen was against foreign Marxist Socialism. His main purpose was to raise the people out of misery to prosperity. In practice this principle has resulted in the introduction of certain beneficial laws in the Constitution, limiting land revenue and encouraging agricultural welfare. Land does not become state property, as in Communist countries, but is taxed according to its value. If the owner attempts to avoid taxes by depreciating the value of the land, the State is entitled to buy up his land at his own declared value. If the land of an individual be exploited for industrial purposes by industrial development, the increased value belongs to the State. The individual farmer is not only protected against the injustice of the land-owner, but is also materially assisted to possess his own land. The ultimate idea is to introduce a system in which there will be no class struggle, with a more even, though not absolutely equal, distribution of wealth. Private enterprise will not be discouraged, but national industries will be established from Government capital. Various essential features in the life of the community and the nation will become Government monopoly,

including communications, their extension and development, mining, forestry, and refining essential oils and metals. The State will also control the prices of foodstuffs, housing, clothes and conveyance, to see that the poorest can afford the minimum necessities of life.

Under war conditions, it is true, a type of dictatorship has been created in China, but this equally applies to all other nations at war, including Britain and the United States, where a central unfettered control is considered essential for war purposes. The Supreme National Defence Council of which Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo of the Chinese Army is the President, is the highest political body during the period of emergency, co-ordinating Government administration and Military functions. The President enjoys the power of exercising his discretion without reference to the legal procedure of ordinary times; but this Central Committee even under war conditions has created the Central Planning Board, for drafting and deciding on plans for political and economic reconstruction. It has also created a Commission to investigate and approve of the progress in the execution of Administrative Plans, and to control the work, finance and personnel of the various Government departments. As the principle of Kuomintang is democratic centralization, it decrees that minorities and subordinate bodies must abide by the decision of the majority at the Centre. According to the original constitution, the first election to the National Congress was to be held in 1936, but, due to war conditions, it had to be postponed indefinitely, and it has now been decided that it will definitely take place within a year after the termination of the present war.

The Peoples Political Council that has taken the place of the National Congress was in the beginning elected by the Kuomintang Party, but the latest Peoples Political Council has 164 members elected by different provincial councils, out of a total of 240, the rest being nominated to represent Border Districts like Mongolia and Tibet; and cultural and economic associations and bodies. It may be interesting to note that on this Council there are 14 women and 2 Communists. Although this Council is at present advisory, supervising the work of Government by considering the reports of various ministries and making

recommendations on them, the Government generally accepts all their recommendations and the proposals submitted by them. The National Congress, which will take its place after the war, will be on an electorate basis with universal franchise, every person over 20 years of age being entitled to vote. There will be 665 members elected on a territorial basis, 380 by vocational bodies, and 155 by special procedure including representatives of overseas Chinese, Soldiers, Mongolians, Tibetans, etc. 240 members are to be nominated by the existing National Government. This Congress will form the sovereign ruling power from which all control will emanate.

Under present conditions, the elected Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang holds sovereign power, as it appoints the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, the Control Yuan and the National Military Council. The National Government is also responsible to this Committee. The functions of all the Yuans are denoted by their denominations, the Examination and the Control Yuans being exclusively peculiar to the Chinese form of government. The function of the Examination Yuan is the selection of Civil Servants. Besides the high, ordinary and special examinations, the Yuan also holds examinations for candidates standing for election to public offices. Between June 1940 and the end of last year, a total of 18,447 candidates passed. Of this number, 10,205 were *kuang* (country) councillors, and 8,242, *hsiang* and *chen* (smaller administrative units) representatives. The function of the Control Yuan is to keep a watch on all government offices and departments, to see that they work efficiently and properly, and to detect and punish cases of inefficiency, bribery and corruption; it is the modern constitutional equivalent of the People's Right of Revolution, protecting them against corrupt, arbitrary officials.

Between July 1937 and August 1942, 433 persons, 255 cases were impeached. Petitions received from people concerning alleged breaches of laws and dereliction of duty by public functionaries numbered 6,872 in the same period.

The Yuan exercises its power of impeachment through supervisory members of whom there are from 29 to 49



Reading a Scroll

(From Old Temple Stone-Cut)



Goddess of Mercy
(From a Temple Stone-cut)



Chinese Landscape
(Traditional Style)

appointed and removed by the Chairman of the National Government at the instance of the President of the Yuan. The term of office of the supervisory members is indefinite and they have such security as is usually enjoyed by judges.

The supervisory members may individually bring written charges against any public functionary, and may base their impeachment charges on their own information or on information given by the people.

The other power the Control Yuan exercises is auditing. Under it is a Ministry of Audit which has departments in twelve provinces with a status similar to that of the supervisory commissioners' offices. In addition, it has auditing offices in those government organs which handle financial matters so as to hold audit on the spot. The power of auditing includes supervising the execution of budgets, examining orders for receipts and disbursements, auditing final accounts, and investigating illegal and disloyal behaviour in connexion with financial matters.

The Executive Yuan comprises the executive branch of the National Government including the eleven ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, Finance, Economic Affairs, Education, Communication, Agriculture and Forestry, Social Affairs, Food, and Justice. The Legislative Yuan is the highest law-making body empowered to decide on bills connected with law, amnesty, international problems, the declaration of war and peace, and budget-making.

The Judicial Yuan is the highest judicial body controlling the supreme court, the administrative court, and the Commission for Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries. The functions of the Ministry of Justice being executive, it is under the Executive Yuan. The District Court is the trying court from which appeals go to the High Court or Branch Court, the final appeal being decided on by the Supreme Court at the Capital. Under war conditions, due to difficulties of communication, special trying courts and circuit courts touring different areas have been set up, including convenient centres for the Supreme Court. Judicial officers are drawn mostly from graduates in law, and candidates who have passed the civil service examination and are thereafter given

special training.

Local self-government functions through Provincial Governments, and through District and Municipal Councils. Each Provincial Government has a Secretariat with departments of Civil Affairs, Finance, Reconstruction, Education and Industry, under the control of a Provincial Commission of nine members. The Provincial Government is under the Ministry of Interior and assists the Central Government in the administration of the Provinces. Provisional Provincial Assemblies have been set up to advise and assist the Provincial Commission, and after the war these assemblies will consist of 60 per cent members elected from among the native residents of the province and 40 per cent from cultural and business organizations of the province. By the agreement of 1937, in the Northern Communist Provinces, the Provincial Commissions are composed of three members of the Communist Party, three members of the Kuomintang Party, and three local residents.

The bigger towns have special municipalities with a mayor and councillors, but the smaller districts, or Hsien, form the important units of local self-government. When regular elections take place, the Administrative Council of the Hsien will be composed of elected representatives from each village forming 70 per cent of the representatives, the balance of 30 per cent being elected by professional organizations.

Under war conditions the various ministries have to perform extra-ordinary duties; for example, the Ministry of Economy helped to transport 1,16,375 tons of machinery representing 450 factories, from occupied area to Free China. It has also carried out reconstruction and development of Industry, Electric Oil-fields, Coal Mines, Iron and Steel Works, Heavy Machinery Production, Chemical Industry, Cotton Mills and the manufacture of cement soap, paper, leather goods, motor cars, tractors, radio receiving and transmitting sets, telephone sets, lamp bulbs, etc. within the formerly backward regions of Central China. The Ministry of Finance, besides levying taxes, has to control various essential commodities like sugar, matches, flour, tobacco, wine, yarn, salt, etc. It also directs the four Government banks, the Central Bank

of China which is a Reserve Bank, the Bank of China which carries out all foreign transactions, the Bank of Communications which extends communications and subsidizes private enterprises in that direction, and the Farmers Bank which has radically changed the position of the peasant giving him loans to enable him to introduce modern methods of production.

The peasantry in Free China now forms a well-to-do community, compared to the poverty stricken peasant of the past. The Ministry of Agriculture conducts Research Bureaus for the improvement of agriculture, and is attempting, with a surprising measure of success, to make China self-sufficient in its production of foodstuffs, and to develop animal husbandry, forestry and rural economy.

The Ministry of Social affairs is another peculiarly Chinese Ministry ; it is in charge of people's organizations and training, social welfare, co-operative enterprises, and the mobilization of man-power.

The Ministry of Information attempts to overcome the limitation of war-time production by issuing summaries of news in the form of bulletins, putting up wall sheets for the public, and insisting on every newspaper sticking up its issues in prominent places for the public to read. Expression of opinion either by speeches or in the press is remarkably free in spite of war conditions, and the Chinese traditional habit of discussing the Government and its administration in tea shops has now extended to the newspapers, of which there are nearly 800.

Another peculiarity of the Chinese form of administration is the police control which is almost exclusively recruited and organized by municipalities and district councils. The older system of administration of justice both civil and criminal by the council of village elders is still carried on, and this system works very satisfactorily particularly in occupied territory where, apart from islands under Japanese military control, the rest of the surrounding area still continues under Chinese Administration which is local and hence can carry on under war conditions, even without direction or instruction from the Central Government.

According to Kuomintang theories, a period of tutelage is necessary to educate the masses in progressive

modern systems of democracy, before introducing them indiscriminately. The present is the period of tutelage, when administrative power is in the hands of the Party and its members, to be handed over to the masses on the election of the National Congress within a year of the termination of the present hostilities. Power concentrated in the hands of a few is liable to be used indiscreetly at times, and human nature being what it is, there is bound to be a tug-of-war for more power between cliques in the party. A still greater danger lies in any clique attempting to cling to power beyond the fixed period of tutelage. This will prove a great test of the sincerity of the Party and its members, and will have a considerable bearing on the future of the country.

CHAPTER III

Economics .Currency and Inflation

Our obstinate faith in the progress of modern civilized ways occasionally receives rude shocks when the failure of a single clog in the complex machinery of modernism leads to a complete breakdown, and we have to fall back on the most primitive ways of social organization. We advanced from barter to shells and beads, and thence to coins and paper currency through thousands of years of 'progress', but at one fell stroke the disorganized conditions that follow in the wake of war and blockade, and their concomittant inflation land us back right at the earliest stage. The following extract from the China Information Bulletin is relevant to the point :

'The Hupeh Provincial Government has adopted barter to help improve the people's livelihood.* The first experiment is being tried at Fnshih, where through consumers' co-operatives, the people can exchange daily necessities with one another at fixed prices.

'For instance, one *tou* of rice can be bartered for one *shih chang* (or 11 feet) of blue shirting, because the government fixed the price of each at 10 dollars. '

‘ Though a primitive method, barter under modern management may produce far-reaching effects on economic reconstruction in Hupeh. First, it reduces the issuance and circulation of money. Second, it regulates commodity prices, thus suppressing hoarding and profiteering. Third, it helps to re-adjust the supply and demand of daily necessities.’

The term inflation has come into common currency after the last war of 1914-18 with the break-down of the German currency system, when the cheapest articles were priced at thousands of marks. The currency of every country has to be backed up either by gold reserves or the credit of the Government abroad. Where the Government is not in a position to exchange its currency notes for either silver or gold, the value of the currency goes down in its purchasing power leading to inflation.

Inflation has a twofold effect. Firstly, it affects the people living in the country, the soaring prices making living conditions almost impossible. Secondly, it affects imports and exports and makes it exceedingly difficult for the businessman of the inflation-stricken country to trade with or purchase goods from other countries. In the case of China neither of these two points substantially arises, as the people’s income has gone up with the soaring prices; and as the blockade has left only a single line of communication by air out of the country, the import and export trade is at an absolute standstill.

China’s natural, mediaeval economy can and has withstood economic tribulations which might have been disastrous to highly modern states. The achievement of the Ministry of Finance is something extraordinary, considering the circumstances. In all countries with wide-spread illiteracy like China, paper currency would usually be at a discount. Within a period of ten years the Government has managed to completely withdraw all coinage, and to substitute paper currency right down to the lowest denomination. Although this paper currency is not sufficiently backed by gold and silver reserves, the present inflation in China is more a price inflation than a currency inflation. This can be substantiated from the fact that the rise in prices does not necessarily affect the fluctuating foreign exchange, considered at its ‘black

market' value. It is remarkable that the 'black market' value, *i.e.* the exchange of Chinese currency with the Indian rupee and American dollar remains largely stable, even though the local commodity prices show a definite tendency to rise.

A significant fact in this connexion was revealed when the Japanese made their first inroad on Imphal early in 1944. The Indian rupee which had risen in the black market to an almost stable peak of about 70 Chinese dollars fell to 50 dollars, and likewise the American exchange suffered a similar decline from 220 Chinese dollars to 150. On the other hand prices soared up by 30 per cent at that particular time. This instance is one of the many that conclusively prove that though there is a small currency inflation, there is a larger price inflation, for the rise in prices was accompanied by a fall in the unofficial foreign exchange.

With the loss of the eastern industrialized provinces, Government lost most of its revenue. All industries that have arisen within the last few years are almost all of them war industries, under direct Government control, and, therefore, the revenue from these industries is naturally small, and customs revenue from import and export trade is non-existent. Land taxes are not high as the Government does its utmost to encourage the peasant in its 'grow more food' campaign. Inflation is therefore caused by (1) the blockade, and (2) the loss of revenue which is partly covered by the issue of currency notes; a large source of Government's income arises through the issuing of paper currency, which is backed up from time to time by loans and subsidies from England and America.

In countries not immediately affected by the war, prices have doubled and trebled in spite of various measures of government control. In China, one of the worst affected countries, prices have naturally soared high, but as a counter-balance incomes have risen too, though not in the same ratio. For example, a rickshaw puller who in pre-war days earned an income counted merely in cents now makes thousands of dollars a month, even up to seven or eight thousand. He runs around the town 8 hours a day, and nets an average income of 250 dollars. He pays a rent of 50 to 70 dollars a day for the rickshaw,

150 dollars a day for his food, 4 dollars a day for lodging—that is, sleeping on straw on the table of a tea-shop. Even Government servants who are the worst stricken by the war, have seen their incomes rise from four or five hundred dollars, to eight or ten thousand dollars, inclusive of allowances and rice subsidy. As food is plentiful in the central provinces of Yunnan, Kwaichow, Szechwan, and as fortunately there have been no famine conditions in these provinces for the last seven years, there are no starvation conditions. Foreign goods have undoubtedly soared up in price, but as all *essential* commodities are made in China, foreign goods are a luxury.

Under these circumstances, at first sight, it may seem that inflation has not had any serious effect on every-day life in China. This is only partly correct. Foreigners who come to China—and it is they who give the outside world its ideas about China—suffer badly due to inflation, as their income is not earned in Chinese currency, and the exchange rate is adverse. To prevent inflation going further the Government of China has fixed the foreign exchange at an extremely low figure, and has further fortified the position by limiting very severely and strictly the foreign exchange of Chinese money, thus preventing the flight of wealth from China. This low standard of exchange, which is very essential and advisable under existing conditions, has no relation with the facts of the circumstances as they exist. In fact, it is so low that the Government has been compelled to double the rate for purposes of diplomatic exchange, that is, of supplies of money coming to the various Embassies and Consulates in Free China, for the support of foreign, diplomatic officials. But even this doubling of the rate brings it nowhere near the real value of the dollar. The official exchange is six Chinese dollars to one rupee, and twenty Chinese dollars to one American dollar, whereas the purchasing power, or the 'Black market' value as it is called, of the rupee is sixty Chinese dollars and of the American dollar two hundred Chinese dollars, that is, ten times the official rate. Calculated at this higher rate the Chinese currency value is almost on par (in its purchasing power) with foreign currencies in their own countries; for example, a suit of gentlemen's warm clothes might cost as much as

twelve thousand dollars, *i.e.* Rs. 2,000 or \$650 at the official rate of exchange which is practically ten times the price of the same article in India, but at the black market rate of exchange of Rs. 200 it is the same in India as in China.

One unfortunate cause of inflation is the selling of foreign currency in China, which in these days of insecurity finds a welcome market. The extent to which this affects inflation is surprising. The prices in Chungking are very high, but the prices in Kunming, from the earlier months of 1944, were double the prices in Chungking because of the presence of a large force of foreign airmen who were paid in foreign currency and who sold that in the black market. Chengtu, which was a cheaper town than Chungking, had the same experience. As the foreign aircraft personnel settled down there, prices increased, till in the middle of 1944 they were more than one and a half times the prices in Chungking. The effect of this is felt both by the Chinese population as well as by the foreigners, who suffer from the high prices of which they are indirectly the cause. As the total number of foreign airmen in China is very small, the payment in gold bullion would be insignificant in amount, and would satisfactorily solve the problem and greatly help to keep down and stabilize the prices.

There can be little doubt about the fact that the rising index of the cost of living is largely influenced by war conditions and lack of civil supplies. Prices in China tend to go up continuously not merely in the case of commodities, but also in the matter of transport. Local bus conveyance almost doubled itself in Chungking within four months in 1944, the postage went up by 60 per cent, and long distance bus travelling rose by 50 per cent within a couple of months. Although price control is not rigorous on all commodities, prices do not soar up arbitrarily, as the question of supply and demand is bound to arise, and with the lack of money high priced goods would prove unsaleable. Government monopoly of various essential commodities largely helps to keep the prices down, and the compulsory purchase of 30 per cent of the crop of rice at a low price from the farmers, at which price it is supplied to Government servants and as rations to the poor, helps to keep the prices within reasonable limits. When the price of rice in the open market was 4,000 dollars a picul

(165.34 pounds) registered customers could buy it at 1,100 dollars from the Chungking Food Supplies Bureau. Civil Servants get one picul free per month. Dealers who increase prices of commodities without government sanction have to face court martial trials.

The worst sufferers through this inflation are probably the foreign missions, as the subsidies they get from abroad, mainly America, tend to dwindle unless they are increased at least tenfold, which is obviously very difficult under war conditions. As foreigners are the main sufferers through inflation, it would probably be more in their interests to help in the preservation of steady monetary conditions in the country.

There have been allegations of hoarding and profiteering against businessmen. There can be little doubt that some businessmen have taken advantage of the situation. With rapidly rising prices a 30 per cent to 50 per cent profit within a month or two is a great temptation for the hoarder, who gets his capital by taking loans and offering the tempting interest of 10 per cent *per month*. Some of the private banks offer as much as 7 per cent per month and still make profits by advances at higher rates. Under Government control food hoarding is very difficult if not impossible, and commodity hoarding though possible is attended by very great risks; for till recently, when most of the cities suffered frequent bombing, the capital invested in hoarding might have disappeared over-night as a consequence of bombing. Besides that, the cornering of any commodity is very difficult in an unorganized market, and while hoarding might help to raise the price through scarcity, it was impossible for the hoarder to control the price absolutely. The hoarding of foreign commodities did prove a profitable transaction, but the effect was limited by the limited supply and sale of these commodities. With frequent substitutes coming out from time to time for various foreign goods, the hoarder ran the risk of gaining nothing and losing much. Drastic action has often been taken against hoarders, and deterrent punishment inflicted on them; especially Government servants who indulged in hoarding have even been shot for such acts which amount to national sabotage. The regulations, against hoarding and profiteering cover

foodstuffs, clothing, raw materials, fuel, paper, salt, soap, and various other commodities.

Statistics released from official sources reveal that during the year 1942, various government organs in charge of price and commodity control discovered 1,138 cases of hoarding, 350 cases of violating measures relating to economic control, and 60 cases of violating restrictions about ceiling prices.

Most of the cases were discovered in Chungking. A number of them were in Chengtu, Tzeliutsing, and other central and western Szechwan districts. One of the violators was given the death punishment because of hoarding 2,000 piculs of rice and 12,003 piculs of rape-seeds at Sintu, a country north of Chengtu.

CHAPTER IV

Agriculture Food and Industries

There are many misconceptions based on hearsay about China's starving, teeming millions. Like any other country with extensive territories there are bound to be differences from province to province in the amount, quantity and quality of food available. Provinces in the north with their areas of comparatively barren, rocky soil and unfavourable climate, suffer frequently from famine conditions; and even at the best of times, food is not plentiful. On the other hand provinces in the centre and the south produce foodstuffs in abundance, and have a fairly large surplus. The food difficulty in China is almost exclusively a problem of transport.

NORTH-WEST CHINA

China's North-west, which has recently come into prominence as Communist territory, comprises six provinces—Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ningsia, Suiyuan, and Sinkiang—totalling 2,438,271 square miles representing 31.2 per cent of the national area of 7,939,240 square miles. China's North-west is three times the aggregate size of pre-1939

Germany and France together. As this territory was, till recently, unsurveyed and practically unknown, though now of utmost importance, some particulars of its climate and production may prove informative.

Climatically, the North-west belongs to that part of the Eurasian continent where the influence of the oceans is scarcely felt. In winter, high pressure of the Siberian anticyclones brings to it a semi-arctic temperature. In summer, the low pressure from the Indian Ocean brings hot winds from India and gives these regions tropical warmth, especially the provinces of Chinghai and Sinkiang.

According to recent estimates, these territories, comprising one-third the area of China, have a total of 22,000,000 people, about one-twentieth of the national total of 450,000,000. This scarcity of man-power influences, adversely in some aspects, every phase of human activity in the development of the region.

Although short of precipitation, the river valleys and loess plains of the North-west are very fertile if properly watered. Generally speaking, the North-west produces enough food for its own consumption. Due to lack of transport facilities in the territory and the fact that agriculture is centered only in river valleys and scattered regions on the north-western plateau, interflow of foodstuffs is limited, frequently resulting in local shortages. Properly irrigated, its 313,332 square miles of arable land will more than feed and clothe its entire population.

Animal husbandry is the most promising of all its rural enterprises. Two-thirds of the entire area forms good pasture for domesticated animals.

It is rich in both metallic and non-metallic mineral resources, especially mineral oil, gold, iron, coal and salt. Every one of the six provinces is known to have rich coal reserves and the most promising of its mineral reserves is oil.

The North-west was historically China's main door to the outside world. It was the only link with central Asia and Europe before the opening of ocean navigation. Marco Polo's Silk Road went through the present Kansu Corridor and southern Sinkiang. The opening of sea routes forced the North-west road into oblivion. The Japanese blockade, however, has given the North-west a new significance.

OCCUPIED CHINA

Realizing the possibilities of the North, in the north-eastern areas occupied by them, the Japanese are adopting every possible measure to exploit its agricultural potentialities to the utmost and turn it into a base for the supply of raw materials.

To remedy its water scarcity and famine conditions, in 1940 the Japanese began a five-year water conservancy program. Dredging was started along the Kien, Tachiang and Tzeya rivers to connect them directly with the sea. Similar work is under way in western Shantung. Over 8,000 wells have been dug to water the cotton fields.

The invaders have been spending much money on soil improvement in north-east China. Much of the land in Hopei and Shantung is sour and saltish on which only crops with strong resistance can grow. The Japanese and their puppets are using the rivers as well as the Grand Canal to improve this soil by building large-scale irrigation systems.

Since almost all arable land in north China is already under cultivation, the last means of exploiting this part was to start land reclamation, and the Japanese have planned to turn 10,000,000 mow (116 of an acre) of waste land in the river valleys into rice fields and 70,000,000 mow into wheat and cotton fields. In the Peiping-Liaoning railway zone, they are opening model farms totalling 100,000 mow.

CHINA'S FOOD PROBLEM AS A WHOLE

Professor Chi-ming Chiao has calculated that for food estimates the total population of China can be converted into 322,000,000 adult male units. The satisfactory amount of food for each adult male unit is about 3,300 calories of heat per day. At the pre-war rate of food production, sufficient calories were produced to feed 290,000,000 adult male units, that is, nine-tenths of the population could be fed from home products. After the war started, intense cultivation in certain provinces has raised the quantity so as not merely to cover the one-tenth deficiency, but ultimately to leave a surplus for export when China regains her lost provinces.

Since increase in the acreage of cultivated land is limited, the amount of production of individual farms has to be increased through improved farming methods. To increase the acreage of food crops on the limited cultivated land area, the production of money crops would have to be reduced, but this must be avoided at all costs: a country at war requires *all* its raw materials. China is, therefore, required to slightly reduce her area of food crops, and give it over for the cultivation of industrial materials. Through better farming methods, better irrigation, better seeds, and better methods for insect and disease control, the production of each acre of land of food crops could be considerably increased, and it is a matter of certainty that food production throughout the country could be increased by one-fourth.

Better technique and administration will raise the production of individual farm units in post-war China, thus enabling the country to become more than self-sufficient in food supply. Thus China's food problem will, after the war, be centred round better transport, as increase in food production has been secured already. The fact that though famine was a regular feature in the central provinces every 7 years, no famine conditions have occurred there from the time Government started supporting agriculture by irrigation and modern methods, indicates that these famines can be easily avoided.

Before 1937, China imported about 100,000 tons of chemical fertilizers for distribution in the four coastal provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsu, and Chekiang. Over 200,000 tons will be needed for the entire nation after the war. Large manufacturing plants for chemical fertilizers will, therefore, have to be established to meet all these needs. Better chemicals will also have to be made for insect and disease control to prevent the loss of millions of dollars every year.

Other measures that post-war China will adopt for the increase of food production, include the further development of irrigation, the promotion of winter plowing, increase in wheat production *vis-a-vis* rice cultivation, better co-ordination between storage and transport, and a sound system of food-control.

AGRICULTURE

At least 80 per cent. of the people of China are children of the soil, subsisting entirely on their agricultural produce. Agricultural methods were developed early in China, where the iron plough was used at a time when people of the West were still at the wooden plough stage. These developments of methods of agriculture were not isolated, as they formed a part of the general scientific progress of the Chinese nation that started about 2,500 years ago. The culture of the silk-worm and the technique of silk-making is one of the earliest features of Chinese industry, and block printing started in China about 1,000 A.D.

The origin of chemistry in all countries lies in Alchemy. Less than a century and a half after the death of Christ, Chinese alchemy had become a highly developed science and one of its discoveries was gun-powder, which was used mainly for crackers on holiday festivals, and it was left to the West to turn it into a deadly weapon of warfare. The Chinese study of herbs and their qualities is wider and more comprehensive than any other system right up to recent times.

The feudal system in China was very similar to the feudal system in Europe as it prevailed in the Middle Ages. In Europe that system broke down, making way for a capitalist society, largely due to the increase of trade which attended the discovery of the unexplored regions of America. But there was nothing parallel in China to the merchant community's rise to power in Europe. Chinese political economy has never been based exclusively on private wealth, and therefore when feudalism decayed capitalism could not replace it.

The Chinese system of social life led to the development of a certain type of bureaucracy that replaced the feudal system. The Civil Service has deep roots in the Chinese system of politics, economy and social life. The power of the official can be judged from this widespread prayer which was written and exhibited everywhere—'May the heavenly officials grant us peace and plenty.' A casual study of the economic geography of China indicates the importance of irrigation. With the lack of sufficient rain the agriculturists had to depend absolutely on irrigation work,

and it was the engineering skill of the Civil Service that came to the rescue. This led to the engagement of millions of labourers, giving further power in the hands of the bureaucratic Civil Service.

In Free China the farmer is not only richer than his forbears, but is also better off than those around him. Inflation and the currency problem hardly affect him, for he pays his revenue-tax in kind, trades by the barter system, and does not need much currency. From the beginning of 1941 the Farmers Bank of China has advanced large agricultural loans to the small farmer to help him to increase agricultural production. The Government showed its foresight by working in the right direction of helping the farmer to produce more foodstuff, the most essential sinew of war. Over 90 million dollars are being spent every year on irrigation, and in irrigation loans. The acreage under cultivation has been increased, improved seeds used, waste land reclaimed, crop diseases and insect pests controlled, fertilizers improved and extended in use, and methods of agriculture generally brought up to date.

Following Dr Sun Yat-Sen's policy of the equalizing the acreage owned by farmers the Government has made a complete land survey with correct registration, and has done its utmost to protect the tenant-farmer. Farmers Co-operatives have helped to fulfil Dr Sun Yat-Sen's solution of the Chinese economic problem, by helping tenants to become owners of the land they till. The law provides the tenant with the priority of buying land when it is for sale. Besides, there has been a compulsory reduction of ground rent charged to the tenant, and a severe restriction of the landowner's right to change his tenant-farmer. In fact, the landlord is being gradually pushed out, and Government even advances loans to the tenant-farmer to help him to purchase land.

Another important factor which is exclusively Chinese is the Government system of forcible purchase of land that is not properly cultivated and has therefore a low assessment value. This land, generally purchased from the landlord by government, is redistributed to the tenant-farmer who pays the purchase price in instalments.

INDUSTRIES

In Free China, in 1944, there are almost 2,000 privately owned small industries and about 200 Government owned and controlled heavy industries. This has helped to supply the army with most of the equipment they have, however insufficient that may be, including lighter arms and ammunition. The supply of steel being very small, compared to the needs of the nation, it is difficult for China to construct heavy armaments. Iron deposits are abundant but refining plants are not sufficient to increase production.

Before the war there were about 4,000 private factories in China of which less than 300 were located in the interior. Most of the factories in the eastern provinces were controlled by foreign interests. Today all the factories are directly under Chinese control with almost exclusive Chinese labour and technical direction. There are nearly 100 metallurgical factories, about 50 electrical appliance factories, about 500 chemical works, besides numerous assembling and constructional plants for mechanical products like cars, radio receiver and transmission sets, etc. Alcohol and gasoline with lubricating oils and other substitute fuels, have been largely increased in output, and coal and iron mining is rapidly progressing.

Labour conditions, though not on the same level as in other countries that are more industrialized, are progressively improving with the organization of labour. Chungking Labour Unions had a membership of 127,869 in April 1944, and held a two days meeting of the Chungking Association of Labour Unions. One woman was among the 44 new office-bearers elected for the coming year. Organized Labour sent delegates to the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia.

Chinese workers are divided into two classes; the artisans called the 'chiang jen' and the labourers called the 'hsiao kung'. The former class labours with tools, the latter without them, but this does not amount to a distinction between skilled and unskilled labour. Foreigners often refer to the Chinese worker as an object of pity. The Chinese worker does work hard and is not paid too well, but he always has a sense of dignity and independence in the work that he does, and does not need the patronizing

少長卿才



Emperor and Attendant
(Old Opera Style)

pity or sympathy of any one whatsoever.

Government policy is to ensure a rational distribution of goods with the minimum burden on transport, hence factories are distributed as widely as possible, having regard to the supply of raw material, labour and power. To increase war production, more control is exercised over private factories. To ensure economy of labour and materials, production standards have been raised considerably and economic efficiency increased. The figures for each individual province in Free China make interesting reading, and show an average increase in factories and plants of ten times their number in pre-war days. A new type of industry, called Guerilla Industries has arisen in Free China; portable workshops are transported all round occupied areas behind the war front, making the necessary equipment needed for guerilla fighting. This is a part of the war industry's effort and has a far-reaching effect in destroying the morale and the transport of the Japanese, and it will ultimately lead to their withdrawal.

The National Industrial Research Bureau has rendered valuable help by establishing experimental stations, and in producing articles that were formerly imported. Synthetic gasoline from tung oil, and synthetic rubber are amongst some of the most important achievements of the bureau.

China's natural resources have never been exploited or even thoroughly investigated. Even under unfavourable conditions she stands first in the world market in tungsten, antimony and tin. Her coal reserves are estimated to last her for thousands of years, and her lead, copper, and manganese deposits run into billions of tons. Natural gases from underground reserves are already being used as substitutes for gasoline, although petroleum fields have been noted in different places, where natural oil seepage has occurred. Even gold is not lacking, and in the ~~provinces~~ provinces in the centre it is likely that a substantial amount of gold will soon be recovered.

The China Industrial Co-operative was started in 1938, with the idea of building up China's war economic resistance to ensure the ultimate victory of China's arms. It also made the best of the opportunities afforded by the war to build up Chinese industries. This movement will progress more rapidly in peace time with national reconstruction.

The main plan of the Co-operative was to provide mobile industries behind the battle line where heavy industries are impossible. It has also helped larger industries to centralize their efforts and co-ordinate their work, at the same time distributing them as far as possible to avoid the risk of bombing. It succeeded in rescuing a large amount of machinery and tools from areas just before occupation.

It not only helps in industrial production but also has an educational value in teaching co-operation and skill to the workers. It assists local small-scale industries and handicrafts, attempting to make each district self-sufficient. It has extended its scope to the rural areas by organizing cottage industries, and in most places, both urban and rural, it supplies raw material like cotton, collects and buys the home-spun yarn, supplying the same to the small industries that weave it into cloth. In cotton growing districts women and children are seen spinning yarn while they sit in the shop waiting for customers, while putting the baby to sleep, and even while gossiping with one another. Crowds of people collect to sell their yarn on certain days when it is collected, and take back the price in cash and in further raw materials.

CHAPTER V

Education and the War

Since the Renaissance, when scholars from the University of Constantinople fled with their Latin and Greek manuscripts before the invasion of the conquering Muslim Armies, there has been no greater exodus of scholars, and none in the whole history of mankind, equal in magnitude to the Chinese Exodus to the East. They travelled and suffered great tribulations in the cause of Freedom of Thought, and after this magnificent effort, they are least likely to suffer any restrictions or interference in that direction.

Critics of the Chinese system of education declare that in China thought is regimented and that it is strictly controlled according to Government requirements. All

education is based on thought direction, since from the very elementary stage right up to the finishing course in the University, the function of education is to guide individual thought in the right channels. In China thought is no more under control than anywhere else, and it is in no way near the Fascist system where a rigidly directed educational curriculum is laid down and strictly followed with the idea of restricting individual thought. The Nazi system of education aims at complete domination over the mind of the younger generation and forcing it in a single direction. There is nothing of this kind in China.

The Central Political Institute in Chungking is one of the most important of the university educational institutions as it trains the younger generation for Government, Consular, Diplomatic and other higher services. Misinformed foreigners in Chungking often remark that this institution is the 'Hot-bed of Fascism'. Apart from hearsay and prejudice, they have no grounds to support their statement, and are quite surprised when informed that books of Karl Marx are to be found on open shelves in the Library, and that very frequently students take the book out and read it, and are further surprised to learn that half the number of professors on the staff are not even members of the Kuomintang Party; and that each Professor, owing to the lack of textbooks, has the fullest liberty to draw up his own course of studies and teach it to the students. This is an example of how false notions are current and are often unwittingly used by foreigners resulting in anti-Chinese propaganda; unfortunately, there are other cases where such false hearsay statements are repeated deliberately, even after the individual uttering them has been informed about their incorrectness and is aware of the real facts.

As in other countries, under war conditions, due restrictions are placed on the granting of permission to students to study abroad. Only those who intend taking up 'nation-building' subjects, *i.e.* technical training or courses that will enable the student to assist in the war effort, are sent abroad. In view of limited passenger transport all over the world, and restricted currency exchange limiting the transmission of Chinese money to

foreign countries, the selection is very carefully made by various Universities from amongst the best students available, and their recommendations are considered, and the final selection made by the Ministry of Education. Any student, government-aided or self-supporting, must possess one of the following qualifications before he or she can be approved for foreign studies :

- (a) Having continued research work or served the Government for at least two years with distinction after graduation from one of the recognized Government or private Universities ;
- (b) Having continued research work or served the Government for at least four years with distinction after graduation from one of the recognized Government or private technical institutes.

Selected students have to undergo one month's training at the Central Training Camp, which has been made the target of baseless attacks. At the camp, along with lectures on world affairs, there are outline lectures on Chinese history and the principles of the Kuomintang, given more as information, so that students going abroad will not exhibit undesirable ignorance of the affairs of their own country and its system of administration. This can in no way be considered, as it is often alleged, to amount to thought control, and it is obvious that students in this camp who are already graduates, and whose ages vary between 22 and 30 are in any case not likely to be affected to any extent within the short period of one month.

The recent history of the Universities and the Educational Institutes in Free China, reads like an epic. The wonderful trek of thousands of miles made by both students and professors carrying books from the various University Libraries, rushing along in front of the advancing wave of Japanese aggression, has proved a landmark in the history of modern times. Those who got away in time were lucky ; but those who attempted to follow after Japanese occupation, had to run the risk of Japanese bullets in their attempts to escape to Free China, and a large number of them unfortunately were shot while attempting to escape across the border. The refugees could not carry away more than a quarter of the number

of books from the universities and from public libraries, and, even of that small number, a large section is now deposited in underground vaults and in dug-outs, for safety against bombing. That means that in the Universities less than 5 per cent of the books from the original libraries are available even for reference. Textbooks are exceedingly scarce if not non-existent, hence each individual professor sets his own course and gets notes cyclo-styled or duplicated. But even this is a matter of the past, for stencil paper is hardly available. There is acute shortage of writing paper in China. The average Chinese paper is as thin as tissue paper, and though it can be used for painting characters in the Chinese fashion with the Chinese brush, it is practically useless for writing with pen or pencil, and, therefore, it is not at all suitable for notes to be taken down on it in Roman and other foreign scripts. This is one of the greatest handicaps of higher education in China under war-time conditions.

Although Chungking and its suburbs have been free from Japanese bombing from 1942, the same does not apply to other University Centres. The Associated South-west Universities in Kunming where the campus houses three Universities from occupied eastern provinces, may be taken as an instance. Incidentally, before the occupation, almost 90 per cent of the Chinese Universities were in the eastern provinces. Till the end of 1943 Kunming suffered severe bombing almost every day in the week from Sunday to Friday, with Saturdays off. The professors and the students had to leave the University campus early in the morning, sit on the hills behind the campus and watch the bombing of the Japanese planes, and the dog-fights in the air. The Universities being intellectual breeding-places that build up the spirit of resistance, the Japanese considered them fair targets, even as military objectives. Most of the Universities proudly point out spots where the Japanese bombs fell, and in one place a shell-hole has been changed into a pond with a surrounding garden, to commemorate the fall of a bomb in the University campus. The bombing in Kunming started in the morning and was over by noon. The staff and students would come down after the all-clear was sounded, hastily have their lunch—and in China it hardly takes

an hour to cook a meal—do their day's work and then at 5 o'clock after dinner, start straightening out their dormitories which were often bombed, and arrange for a resting-place for the night. It is one of the surprises of modern times that both the staff and the students continued with University education in spite of these abnormal difficulties which might have driven any other nation to the desperate step of putting off education for the 'duration'.

Most of the students come from occupied provinces, being refugees who can get no support at all from their families. Government has not only to subsidize the Universities so that students get free tuition, but also has to provide food, clothing, lodging, and even some pocket money for them. In Missionary Universities, however, students have to pay for everything including fees, boarding and lodging. Government has adopted the wise policy of assisting education to the fullest extent, to train the younger generation for the task of reconstruction which will face them after the war. That is the very reason why students were, till recently, sent abroad for higher studies; the Ministry of Education decided about the middle of 1944 to temporarily stop sending students abroad till the war situation improved. The total number of University students in China in 1944 was nearly 70,000 which, very significantly, is more than 50 per cent over the total number of University students before the war. Government naturally attempts to preserve all the national energy and expense that has gone to the training of these students, and, therefore, does not encourage all students to enlist, although some have actually done so and have lost their lives on the fighting front. This policy caused some surprise and misunderstanding in America where a number of Universities stopped functioning normally, and the young students had enlisted and gone abroad to various places including the Chinese front, whereas Chinese students still arrived in America for higher study. While in China there is one University student to every 10,000 of the population, in America, the proportion is immensely higher. Besides, China has enormous man-power, and so it can well afford to spare its students for the arduous job of reconstruction after the war; in fact, there would

be a break-down of administrative machinery if there were no intelligent handling of the situation when the time for reconstruction arrives.

The Chinese system of education is very similar to the American; it is in fact based on it. The original Chinese system of Examination for the Civil Service with the necessary cramming of the classics has been changed. After graduating from the Middle School, with a wide range of modern subjects, at the age of about 18 to 20, students appear at the higher examination for selection and admission to University Courses. This examination is held simultaneously in all the provinces in Free China and about 15 per cent of the most intelligent candidates selected purely on merit, are given admission to the Central Political Institute, from where, after the usual course of four years' training, they immediately enter higher Government service. Those who are not so successful join other Universities, but most of these students too, are likely to be absorbed in Government Services after graduation.

The University Syllabus is very wide like the American, and lacks that depth which is so conspicuous in the British system. A student specializes and 'majors' in one subject, but he is at liberty to fill in his 'credits' selecting from a large variety of other subjects. Some of the subjects taught are: the Chinese Classics, Chinese Literature and Philosophy; English, French, German, Hindustani, Italian, Tibetan, Mongolian and Japanese; History, Geography, Philosophy, Logic, Economics, Statistics, Law Commerce, Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine; and the pure and applied Sciences. Education is not purely academic and is much more closely related to life due to war conditions. Research on old Chinese herbs used as drugs is carried on with a view to substitute them for modern western drugs that are not easily available. In spite of war conditions pure research, too, is carried on with a minimum of equipment: for example, research on Cosmic Rays, where most of the apparatus has been made up with enormous labour.

Conditions in Universities are undoubtedly difficult and both students and professors try to eke out a rather meagre living in a variety of ways. Professors, besides

publishing books, which bring in very little these days, often teach in more than one University to supplement their income, and if they are artistically inclined, paint and sell pictures and calligraphic scrolls. With the rise in prices, the greatest sufferers are professors and Government servants, as, although their income has gone up, it cannot keep pace with the rising prices. A senior professor's substantive salary is the pre-war amount of 480 Chinese dollars, but with allowances and the value of the rice subsidy, he gets round about 10,000 dollars in 1944, but even this amount is hardly sufficient for the maintenance of his family. Compared with the men who do manual labour, or the shopkeeper or the petty farmer, he is badly off; for while the former can put up their rates and keep their incomes progressively rising with the rising index of the cost of living, the latter has to make the best of a fixed salary. Although some professors have left their profession to take up more lucrative jobs, most of them have sacrificed everything to carry on with their own work, and thus assist the national effort in these critical times.

Life in most of the Universities is strenuous. The students rise at 5.30 in the morning, even in the biting cold of winter, do their exercises in the open, have their breakfast before seven o'clock and then read for an hour. From 8 a.m. to 12 noon they attend classes, and then, after lunch, the classes start again at 1 or 2 o'clock and go on till 4 o'clock in winter and 5 o'clock in summer. After dinner students get an hour off from 6 to 7 o'clock in the evening, return to their class rooms and read from 7 o'clock and then go to bed rather early at 9 p.m. as a measure of daylight saving. The general food given to them is not of sufficient nutritive value as it only consists of rice gruel with sour vegetables for breakfast, rice and vegetables for lunch and dinner. Two or three times a week they may get some meat added to this insufficient diet. Most of the professors, too, are hardly any better off in this respect. Clothes are cotton-wool padded to keep out the cold in winter. The system is co-educational, and both men and women students receive the same treatment. Students of both sexes have undertaken a variety of part-time jobs to add to their meagre incomes, have worked as barbers

on the University campus, have built roads outside class hours, run restaurants for foreigners, working part-time and in turns, and are prepared to do any work that helps them on. All students are given military training during the first two months of their college course, doing route marches, handling fire-arms and learning the elements of military strategy, and the girls have to take the same training with the boys. Although all students are definitely not encouraged to join up, over 2,000 have volunteered and enlisted including over 100 girls. It is roughly estimated that of 70,000 students in the Universities in Free China nearly half that number come from occupied areas, to join the Free China Universities, after passing through many adventures, some risking their lives in their attempts to get through the Japanese lines.

The only Universities that exist in prosperous conditions are the Missionary Universities in Chengtu established in 1910 and completely built up before the war. Chengtu, being in the interior—about 300 miles north-west of Chungking, has continued as the seat of learning, hardly touched by war conditions. Though the campus originally accommodated only one University, the West China Union University, five other Missionary Refugee Universities have entered the camp. These Missionary Universities run by American and Canadian Missions, have a very unreal atmosphere, and conditions differ radically from those of other Universities, including the newly built National Szechwan University less than three miles away from the Missionary University campus. All their equipment is intact, and the staff quarters seem to be the acme of luxury in present war-time China. The whole atmosphere is pre-war, and only the richer students who come from the *nouveau riche* business and farmer classes can afford to study there. With its concerts, dinner parties, and cinema and other shows, it is a picture of China that was, and forms a good study in contrast.

It is interesting to note that the French influence in education still survives, and in Kunming there is a medical college where instruction is given exclusively through the medium of French by Chinese Professors and medical men who qualified in France before the war.

To keep up with the trend of modern times Government

is establishing increasing numbers of technical institutions as they realize that the country cannot be run merely by Civil Servants, with their academic training. The technician is of great importance, and as most of the Chinese have a great aptitude for technical subjects and prove excellent technicians, technical studies have helped them to build up their present war-time industry.

The Chinese system of education has undergone a radical change from the old examination system where the candidate for Government appointment entered the examination hall with his head crammed full of quotation from the old classics and from the old philosophers. Today he does not neglect his past heritage, but gives it its proper place in the scheme of education, giving increasing attention to practical studies connected with every-day life. The old respect for the scholar still continues, and he is more respected than a man who has only acquired power through riches. The trader is still considered with indifference verging almost on contempt. This promises well for the future, and indicates the socialist tendencies that are current in China, and gives the reason why they have found the Chinese people a fertile ground.

The Chinese government has brought up the number of literates in China to one-fifth of the total population. The first period of two years of a five-year program for the development of education was completed at the end of 1943. The work was successfully carried out in 14 Free China provinces. By the end of 1942, at least one elementary school had been opened in every two *pao* (an administrative unit under *hsien*) in these provinces. The original plan for the first period of the program required one school in every three *pao*. More than 68 per cent of school-age children were in school. The original goal was only 65 per cent.

In developing secondary education, the Ministry of Education pays special attention to the balanced development of middle school, normal, and vocational education. The various provinces have been ordered to scatter the existing middle schools in separated areas in order to give all youths a fair chance.

With the redistribution and decentralization of China's institutions of higher education, certain improvements and

readjustments in organization and curriculum to meet war-time demands have been effected, the guiding principle being a well-balanced development of the different departments of learning. In many cases the emphasis has been on practical sciences and engineering.

This policy began prior to the outbreak of war when many institutions were instructed by the Ministry of Education to effect changes and additions to that effect, providing departments of sericulture, horticulture and insect control; agriculture and agricultural economics; courses in hydraulic, mechanical, aeronautical, chemical, and electrical engineering, and architecture.

Notable progress has been made in the educational program for women and the number of girl students in institutions of higher learning is nearly 9,000, and in secondary schools nearly 150,000.

Besides co-educational colleges and universities, there are 4 institutions of higher learning for women, *viz.*, Gingling College, Hua Nan Girls' College, Shanghai Girls' College of Medicine, and the National Girls' Teachers' College. Primary schools and kindergartens are co-educational. While as a matter of principle, in secondary education girls are supposed to be separated from boys, there are girls in boys' middle schools, and there are middle schools without separate classes for boys and girls.

Improvement of medical education began with the adoption of a five-year plan by the Commission on Medical Education of the Ministry of Education in 1940. During the first half of the period the plan stresses the readjustment of the existing medical colleges, institutes and schools and the establishment of medical research institutes for the training of teaching personnel. During the latter half, additional medical institutions will be opened and the enrolment expanded.

Following the adoption of the plan, the Commission of Medical Education was enlarged. It now has seven committees, on midwifery, nursing, dentistry, pharmacology, Chinese medicine, health education and medical compilation and supervision.

To bring about a well-balanced development of Chinese youth, equal emphasis is laid on character and physical education. Character education is built on the eight

cardinal virtues of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faithfulness, righteousness, peace and harmony. Its purpose is to develop upright, capable individuals and intelligent and law-abiding citizens.

To maintain the equilibrium between mind and body, physical education has been emphasized in schools of all grades. There is a nation-wide program for social physical education, intensified health education, organization of boy scouts in secondary and primary schools, study of Chinese boxing, encouragement of contests and tournaments, and regular physical examination of the students.

An important form of physical education is military drill. This is required in schools of all grades throughout the country. In the secondary schools, students are given basic military education (three hours in a week, two hours for drill and one for lectures). In schools above the secondary grade, students receive pure military education. Intensive military training is also given to secondary school students in spring. In colleges and universities, the intensive training covers only two months during which students are given an officer's education.

One of the latest developments in education in China has been the emphasis on training particular groups of people. These include border people, overseas Chinese, women, nurses and doctors, and musicians. In charge of the program for training border people is the Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Education of the Ministry of Education. The policy governing the program was defined by the Ministry in 1939. According to it, its purpose is to unify and reconstruct the cultures of the frontier people with equal emphasis on citizenship, language, vocation and hygiene in primary education, and special emphasis on the development of technical abilities in secondary and higher education.

During the past ten years since the establishment of the Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Education, frontier education personnel has been trained; linguistic symbols have been devised and unified; texts, reference books, scientific and engineering series edited; songs written; and loans and scholarships appropriated. The institutions engaged in education among the border people include five national normal, four vocational, five nucleus and two

primary. In addition, a Frontier Education School is attached to the Central Political Institute, and frontier education courses are given in several other institutions of higher learning.

In spite of the increasing attention given to education, the amount of national expenditure allotted to it is very low. It was only about 5 per cent of the total national revenue in 1936, after which it decreased as a result of sharp increases in military and reconstructional expenditure. The present ratio is still lower due to war expenditure but an increase is expected immediately after the war. The proportion of university students in China compares unfavourably with other countries for this reason.

CHAPTER VI

Philosophy and Religion

The Fear Instinct proved to be the first religious, ethical and social check on primitive man, giving him a pantheistic form of appeasement-worship of the incomprehensible and consequently terrible powers of nature, and teaching him respect and obedience to the collective will of the tribe and its leader, thus establishing social conventions that protected his rights and punished his misdemeanours. The mysterious in life and Nature led to the belief in the mysteries of the magic of the witch-doctor, and to the superstitions and ceremonials to appease him through Fear.

All the early greater religions of the world were reforming crusades against superstition and in favour of rational ethics or philosophy, and the early Chinese philosophy thus takes the place of religious reformation with its rational ethics.

To the foreigner in China, who has not taken the trouble of going deeper into the structure of Chinese society and the make-up of the Chinese mind, the Chinese seem a particularly irreligious people. From the stand-point of narrow sectarian religion with its creeds, dogmas and rituals, the Chinese *are* irreligious. In fact, very few Chinese

follow a definite religion, even though they may call themselves Buddhists, Christians, or Muslims.

The following instances are typical. A student who spoke English with some measure of fluency, on being asked whether he came from a missionary school, replied in the affirmative and added that he was a Christian. When asked whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant, he was surprised, and asked, 'What is that ?' On his describing the particular church that he had attended in the past, he was told that he was a Protestant. Immediately he took out a piece of paper and wrote on it : ' I am a Protestant.' He then brought out a copy of the Bible from his pocket, and asked whether there was anything interesting for him to read in that book ! On my directing him in the matter, he very hesitatingly asked me whether I was a Christian, and could not understand how I knew 'so much about Christianity', not being a follower of that faith. A foreign missionary once confessed that in the past he had baptized hundreds of Chinese, giving great satisfaction to his home office by doing so, but ultimately he discovered that most of the converts turned out to be 'one-day' Christians, taking whatever small advantage they were entitled to through conversion, and did not even once attend Church after their baptism. In disgust he had given up baptizing except when he was certain of the genuine interest of the candidate for conversion into the Christian fold—and such a candidate happened to be about less than one in a hundred. An Indian Muslim in Chungking remarked that most of the Chinese Muslims knew nothing about the Koran, and still less about the Prophet. Apart from eating 'halal' meat, they did not follow what he considered to be the essential practices of the true Muslim !

Buddhists, according to the tenets of their religion, should be absolute vegetarians. Buddhist monks in China are strict vegetarians and will not even drink milk as they consider it animal food. But most of the Chinese Buddhists merely observe certain half Buddhist, half nondescript ceremonies particularly as funeral rites, and are all meat-eaters.

Thus so far as appearances go, the Chinese have little religion and they are often heard to state in reference to

the theological conception of Creation, that it is absurd as there is no Creator. But if we go deeper we find that the Chinese are not atheists and are religious in the practical sense of being ethically-minded. China is not bothered by any narrow systems, with exclusive ceremonials peculiar to the various religious creeds. Their earliest philosophers including Confucius (the western name of Kung Fu Tzu) and Lao Tze (the founder of Taoism) have always preached the right way of living, and high if not idealist morality, using the word in its broadest sense. Even today most of the Chinese, whatever religion they may happen to follow, will always quote from the classics of older philosophers, applying their philosophy to ordinary every-day life. This has introduced a sense of morality far above the mere creed of other religions. Chinese businessmen in some cases, even to the present day, specially those who are unaffected by western methods, never enter into written business contracts, for the oral word is as reliable as the written promise. No one ever fails to carry out his contract, and if due to lack of money he cannot fulfil it, as a rule his relations consider it their duty to keep up the family prestige by paying up every cent of his promised obligation, and thus prevent any discredit from sullyng the family name and the reputation of their dead ancestors.

The actual number of people who follow a definite religion like Christianity, Islam, or Buddhism, is comparatively small in proportion to the whole population. China is noted for its religious tolerance, and the Chinese take every advantage of the benefits that different religions can offer. Their optimism gives them a cheerful outlook with regard to the future and the hereafter, and there is no despair of human existence, and no under-estimating the worth of human life. The ethical doctrine of Chinese philosophy is centred in 'man's duty to man'. Chinese philosophy deals with the principle of continuity and ancestor-worship, indicating the unity of the past, the present and the future, and exhibits its veneration of that principle. The dead are not lost but are absent or detached. To act wrongly and to disgrace oneself is to disgrace one's name which is a reflection on one's ancestors. Hence ancestor-worship strictly keeps the person to the narrow path of virtue.

Confucianism is the western name of Kung Chiac (Confucian Teaching) or Ju Chia (the Teaching of the Learned). It is still the guiding spirit of the Chinese way of life—a system of ethics that directs the human mode of living. Prior to Confucius a polytheistic religion prevailed in which illustrious spirits were believed to descend on refined and higher human beings, along with a belief in astrology based on the physical influence of the universe over human affairs. Shang Ti, the Supreme Emperor, or the highest authority in the Spirit Realm, was the presiding god of Fate. Confucius exhibits a skeptical attitude towards spirits, but believes in 'a ruling heaven' or a purposeful 'Supreme Being' who directs the 'human' universe. He laid emphasis on the *complete* man, stating that if a man lacks in the inner virtue and genuineness of nature, he will merely add to his emptiness and artificiality by practising the outer adornments of fine manners and music. All virtues should be practised in consonance with human nature; though uprightness is essential, 'uprightness uncontrolled becomes rudeness,' and so a son bearing evidence against his father is not upright, as this is against human nature and the dictates of the human heart. 'Human-heartedness', that is, acting in accordance with propriety and with sympathy for others, is the key-note of his philosophy. Asceticism being unsocial is looked on with disfavour, but mere gratification of the feelings without respect to the right and the proper, and without consideration of how it affects others, is equally undesirable; 'Do not do to others what you do not like yourself.'

The philosophy of Confucius is utilitarian and practical but not doctrinist. Though correct human conduct comes from within, in following the tendency of our nature we may differ in our conduct according to time and place. We must have no preconceptions, predeterminations, no obstinacy and no egoism. Righteousness arises through acting according to propriety, without considering whether something profitable will result from it or not. All human conduct must be beneficial to society. Confucianism, as a religion of practical philosophy, has no priesthood.

Taoism began as a philosophy but later developed into a religion. Lao Tze, the founder, was a profound thinker and ethical teacher. His teachings later degenerat-

ed into a ritual, embodying a polytheistic belief in demonology. The first temple to him was set up nearly 800 years after his death. Taoist priests have evolved their own ritual, and often prey on the superstitions of the ignorant.

Both Confucianism and Taoism laid emphasis on the true object of a government, introducing democratic principles in the very remote past. The welfare of the people is the main theme, and the reformation of humanity by persuasion and not by legislation is considered the best method. An excess of enthusiasm and energy may undo its object in the long run, particularly if it is exhibited in a ruler. Hence the Taoist doctrine: 'Do nothing; Virtue is ever inactive, yet there is nothing which it does not accomplish.' The true significance of this lies in the direction to suppress desire and let things take their own course. It is based on the conception that gentleness will accomplish more than force.

Buddhism had a strong influence on China in the past. There were more than 300,000 temples, with a very large number of monks and nuns. Chinese Buddhists have sent goodwill missions to various countries including Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Thailand and India. Buddhist preaching appropriately fits in with Chinese philosophy, and the Buddhist emphasis on the individual's responsibility for his own actions and its rejection of a convenient deity to absolve him of his sins, naturally fit in with Chinese ethical doctrines.

It is a fact that even the philosophies of Confucius and Lao Tze were transformed into religions of ritual, but as such their influence is restricted. Long after his death, temples were built in honour of Confucius, but those are peculiar temples without any idols or figures, and even without an altar or any other sacred spot. On certain national holidays people flock to these temples, more as a social event than for religious worship. The peculiarity of these temples lies in the three small bridges over a pool of water at the entrance; the middle one being reserved for 'the Master' and the other two for his followers. Some of these temples are in beautiful surroundings outside the cities, and are often used as picnic spots—tea-shops and refreshment stalls flourishing inside the

temple precincts.

Taoist temples on the other hand have a number of figures of old heroes and important personalities, made of wood, and painted over with bright colours including gold. Devotees often leave incense sticks to be burnt at the altar near the main figure, but there is little of real religious worship. An interesting feature in Taoist temples is the fortune-telling oracle sticks. These are small bamboo sticks, with reference numbers on them, placed in a vase with the numbered ends downwards. The visitor picks up a stick and reads about his future in the reference book kept on the table nearby. The book must have been written by a scheming pessimist, for practically every forecast contains a reprimand for past misdeeds and predicts a gloomy future for the fortune-seeker, unless he devotes more time to the reading of the Taoist scriptures. At present a number of both Taoist and Confucian temples are used as training camps for the military.

The Buddhist temple is truly a place of worship. Besides various images of the Buddha, known as 'Sakyamani' in China, there are also pictures and figures of some of his best known Chinese and Indian followers. Some of the temples also contain sacred relics of the person of the Buddha. There are numbers of monks in these temples and regular religious services are held every day. Worshipers often collect outside the hall and watch the priests chanting their prayers and then singing their hymns as they walk round the hall in a certain ceremonial order. These temples often have fairly large libraries of Buddhist scriptures, including some original Pali texts from India. Most of the figures of the Buddha are in the Indian style with the Hindu caste-mark on his forehead, in the Indian sitting posture, and with the symbolical Indian hand and finger gestures. The Indian system of meditation is generally practised in these temples, the monks remaining in meditation in a reclining position for hours together in the inner secret sanctum, where none but monks are admitted. The abbot at one of the oldest temples in Chengtu gave me special permission to enter it, as I was the only visitor to come there 'from the land of Sakyamani'. The abbots of most of these temples are very eager to gain further knowledge of Buddhism from India.

A Buddhist temple at Kunming, fairly near the Indian border, which is over 500 years old, perched near the top of the Si Shan (Western Hills) over-looking the beautiful, extensive lake, shows considerable Indian and foreign influences, with its figures of men and women in Indian dress (made of wood and covered with beaten gold leaf) a picture of the eighteen-handed Shakti Devi, and a couple of figures in Jesuit robes.

Of the three hundred million Muslims in the world, forty-eight millions live in China and worship in over 42,000 mosques. The Chinese Muslim is not narrowly religious, and has no scruples in the matter of inter-marriage. Recently there has been an attempt to revive the doctrines of Islam by spreading more extensively amongst the Muslims a better knowledge of the Koran.

There are quite a number of churches of various denominations, but probably not much interest is taken in them by the Chinese. As a Chinese Missionary once observed: 'I am Christian, but I am Chinese.' This was meant to indicate the fact that religion was purely incidental to him, his nationality taking the first place in his mental make-up and in his every-day life.

In the Chinese ethical system, an important place is held by the idea of 'the Family'; respect for elders, and worship of the Family spirits or 'ancestor-worship' is a strong ethical and semi-religious force, and takes the place of religion, as we understand it. That the family tie overrides difference in creeds is evident in many a family; a brother may be a Muslim, a sister a Christian and yet another member following a wide creed embracing Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

Under present conditions, when doctrinal religion is falling into decay, and even human relationships crumbling in face of powerful new 'isms', as in Nazi Germany where a son or a daughter has no scruples in informing against a father, mother, brother, or sister, probably a system like the Chinese code of life, based on the realities of kinship is most likely to keep its hold on the people and work out human salvation in a better manner than shadowy religious 'ideals' that can be twisted and turned to such an extent that even 'the devil can quote scripture'!

CHAPTER VII

National Characteristics

Legalized nepotism is not corruption, and if the scion of a noble or rich family '*buys*' a commission in the army, or is '*given*' a good ecclesiastical living with rapid advancement to a bishopric, none but anti-social anarchists would find fault with the system, and decry the British Nation as corrupt and degenerate. The foreigner may be puzzled at this seeming paradox in the otherwise scrupulous practices of British internal politics.

Similarly it is difficult, if not well nigh impossible, for a stranger to understand the Chinese point of view, and the make-up of the Chinese national character. The casual onlooker's misconceived charges—that the Chinese are corrupt; are open to bribery and nepotism, and that there is very little social or national feeling—are based on a lack of understanding of the true situation from the Chinese point of view.

Under the impact of western ideas, China has undoubtedly become a land of confusion. Western standards are radically different and attempts to impose them made by foreigners, and by the Chinese in their zeal for westernization, have given rise to this confusion and to further complications. When at the end of the last century European civilization and methods were forced on an isolated China at the point of the sword, the change was so sudden and radical that it made orderly evolution from the old Chinese system to the new western system impossible. Chinese social systems lost their sanctions, and were not replaced by any western system that could have an equal sway or hold over the people. The confusion that resulted in the social and political sphere from the first decade of the present century right up to the Sino-Japanese war, was largely the result of this forced mixture of ideas and creeds. The undiscerning believed that Chinese civilization and culture had ended in stagnation, and that the break-down of its isolation and the introduction of foreign notions was the only way of saving the country. It is obvious that the Chinese social system and Chinese character were not decadent, as is proved from the record of the successes of Chinese students in foreign countries and also by their ability to emigrate and settle down in masses in foreign countries like the

East Indies, which only a race with energy and enterprise could have achieved. Evolution, with its continuous series of actions and reactions has always been present in Chinese life and culture.

To understand Chinese character we have to go down to the basis of Chinese life, the Family System. Society depended on the family in the village, and on the professional guild in the city, and only to an infinitesimal extent on the remote Central Government, which reigned but did not rule, though the Civil Servants in the semi-autonomous provinces exercised real power. The functions of the Court Officials and Civil Servants including the District Magistrate, were ordinarily ceremonial—conducting religious services in the temples of Confucius on certain annual occasions. The autocratic powers of the Emperor and his representatives in the Civil Services including the Magistrates, was limited by the constitutional Right of Revolution which is the foundation of Chinese Political philosophy, a real democratic right, that has no parallel in the constitution of any other nation. If a Magistrate was oppressive he would be faced with an informal protest, followed by a formal protest, then a strike of all the trades and guilds, and, in the last resort, his 'Yaman' or official headquarters would be burnt down over his head. In urban areas the professional guilds functioned whereas in agricultural districts the village elders, that is, the family heads were responsible for the complete government of the village.

All values of life depended on the effects they had on the family. Whereas the West thinks in terms of the individual, the Chinese think in terms of the family. Hence loyalty to the nation could not be very strong, and patriotism, in the western sense, was lacking. On the other hand the family loyalty was limited to a narrow circle, so that it did not tend to disrupt the nation by the formation of larger parties. It was the duty of every individual to help all the individual members of his family, and if he happened to be in a high post, it was essentially his duty to provide jobs for the not so well-placed members of his family. From the western point of view this may amount to nepotism, but nepotism is essentially something unfair and underhand, while the attempt of a Chinese to

secure jobs for his relations is open and above-board, even though it is based exclusively on family partiality.

According to the older system of government, no Government servant was paid a living wage. It was clearly understood that he would retain about half the revenue he collected and remit the other half to the Provincial Governor, who in his turn would retain half and send the balance to the Imperial Government. This was a definitely acknowledged system of profit-sharing which took the place of regular salaries, and covered all the expenses of the local administrative machinery. It encouraged the officer to be more zealous in his work, as the more he collected the more he stood to gain, but it also encouraged cupidity and oppressive taxes. The Central Government, too, profitted by this system, as they did not have to maintain an enormous Civil Administration, for the officer would cover the cost of his staff from his own share in the revenue. Western impact destroyed this system, introducing new standards. Under the new system Government pays regular wages to each Civil Servant, but as the country is not so efficiently industrialized as western countries, Government revenue is low and consequently the salaries are low. The Government officer, therefore, gets a poor salary and is supposed to live on it and still do his work with zeal.

During the period of transition between the decline and disappearance of the Chinese system and the rise of the western system to supplant it, arrangements were in the form of a compromise and the Government servant besides drawing his insufficient salary considered, according to the old tradition, that he was entitled to a part of the revenue collected until his salary reached a satisfactory scale. This cannot be termed dishonest appropriation, and even if it falls under the wider heading of corruption, it is corruption in a purely technical sense.

When a Chinese higher official changes office or is transferred, he often takes a large part of his personal staff with him from the old office to the new. In one way this is an advantage as it saves time, for he knows whom he is to deal with, and does not have to waste much time as he otherwise would, in getting acquainted with a new staff and forming his judgment and opinion of

them. The fact that this section of the staff that goes with him happens to come from the personnel of his own family, cannot amount to nepotism.

With the inroads on the old system made by the impact of the West, and with the Chinese struggle for survival in a rapidly changing world, changes and modifications have gradually entered in the normal course, and in some cases, have been advocated and propagated with social and administrative sanction. But though these changes seem radical on the surface, they have only affected external modes of living, and have hardly touched the deeper Chinese character. Such changes are more obvious in urban areas.

The family system, for instance, under the stress of war conditions, seems to be on the verge of disruption because some of its purely external conventions have broken down. But the threads of the true social philosophy of the family are so intricately interwoven in the texture of everyday life, that no external impact can displace them. The changing manners of changing times are very prominent on the surface and the Chinese press gives prominence to these features. The higher loyalty to the nation in the place of the family is essential under present circumstances, and has entered the life of the people quietly and naturally, for the small family unit was always a part of the larger family, the clan and the life of the province. The following extracts from the Chinese Press give the present position and the Chinese point of view in the matter.

‘Nothing has been so much affected by the war as the Chinese family. Though still the basic unit of society, the Chinese family has to some extent reached the point of disorganization. Yet, judging from the standpoint of the nation as a whole, the Chinese family has advanced with rapid strides toward the completion of war-time integrity of Chinese society.

‘The family has in the first place lost its importance as the *sole* concern of the individuals, as the war has driven the people out of the family to meet a more complicated environment, in which they have got to make endless readjustments, arousing their consciousness of the nation at war. They are willing, rather than forced, to consider the nation first, ready to sacrifice to regain not only their

lost homes but their freedom.

' People are forced to leave the family, with psychological uneasiness but with a strong sense of duty and responsibility to do something for the country. Particularly for those who migrated to the interior from the war areas, the change has been so great that the family has completely lost its position as a guiding factor in the education of the young. Many parents cannot participate in their children's choice of school or occupation.

' Marriage, therefore, has changed its course entirely in favour of the new situation. Wedding announcements today still carry the phrase "with the approval of our parents" which is often, however, a mere formality. For the intelligentsia, marriage is now entirely a matter of their own decision. Even in the most conservative rural society, daughters are allowed to express some opinion about this important business.

' Violent population movements during the last five years have completely changed the people's view as to whom to marry. There is no longer strict endogamy. Nothing but mutual respect, understanding and love count today. The small family system facilitates such marriages because parents do not live with their daughters-in-law, eliminating discontentment and quarrels which may arise from cultural and ideological differences.

' The war, which affects every fibre of society, has produced a telling effect on the size of the family, which grows smaller and smaller. The size of the Chinese family is traditionally small, though the big family system also exists. Shortly before the war, the University of Nanking made an investigation of nearly 40,000 families in rural districts in 16 provinces. It revealed that 62.8 per cent of the families were small families. In Central and South China, 71.8 per cent of the families were small. Throughout the centuries, the phrase, "a family of five mouths" held true, indicating that the Chinese family is composed of parents and children alone. A family of four or five generations is generally regarded as an honour, but it is rare. A family of two or three is the average size in wartime cities in China.

' The people's idea of the family today is entirely different from the past when the life of an individual was

guided by nothing but the glory of the family. All social institutions in the old days were based on family morals, of which filial piety was the most important. Anything that a man did was for the glorification of his family and ancestors. People were ethically classified as sovereign and subjects, fathers and sons, and husbands and wives. Administrative officials, such as hsien magistrates, were regarded as "parents of the people".

'Today people act very differently. The family is no longer taken as a place where glory is essential, but a place where the younger people prepare themselves for better service to society, though they stay there for only a short period of time. It is the nation that is to be glorified and it is the nation's cause of fighting aggression and reconstructing the battered country that is to draw the individual's energy and effort and contribution. People today work hard under trying conditions, not so that their parents and ancestors will be distinguished for having such a son or daughter, but to do their bit for the nation that is struggling, not for the good of the individuals alone, but for the society that is composed of individuals as an organized body.'

The conflicting impact of the West on China is still more visible in the Chinese sense of politeness. There is a considerable amount of formality in some of the practices which have come down from times immemorial, and which are still observed in the home, while American manners, democratic, downright, and practical are adopted in other circles ;—a really paradoxical combination as it seems on the surface. It may seem queer to the superficial observer that a person who is the essence of politeness itself, bows numerous times as you enter and leave his house and shows that respect and courtesy to his guests that would outdo every other form of oriental courtesy—that very person will think nothing, in a bus or on a public road, of jostling you and pushing his way ahead. This obvious inconsistency in behaviour is due to the two conflicting influences in his life. The Chinese home is a Chinese castle, fortified against the inroads of foreign, abrupt ways. But the Chinese, following the wise policy of adapting themselves to everything, follow foreign customs when they are in buses, foreign institutions transplanted on Chinese soil, and so

the bustle and grab of foreign ways comes naturally to them in foreign places like picture-houses, departmental stores, etc. It is this conflict of manners in the Chinese that causes a considerable amount of misunderstanding, and to the superficial observer they seem to be inconsistent and to lack in strength of character.

Social life in the 'foreign circles' in China differs widely from the life of the people. Dances and dinner parties are supposed to give the mainstay of resistance and endurance against the hard conditions of life (not worse than London under the Blitz), and sometimes to heighten the morale even Scotch whisky finds its way through in spite of the restrictions of air transport. But voluntary Stoicism has been adopted as the mode of war-time life by the Chinese with a fatalism that forestalls grumbling. 'One thing I have yet to hear in Free China, and that is any word of complaint. The Chinese are not snivellers and can take such punishment as perhaps can no other people. As Lin Yutang once said, "As long as the Japs can dish it out, we can take it."'—George G. Fitch, (International Committee of the Y. M. C. A.)

Other Chinese characteristics seemingly open to criticism are their alleged easy-going ways, their lack of the modern business sense of the importance of time, in fact, their unpunctuality. The one thing every foreigner is bound to learn in China is a solid lesson in patience. Ordinary, every-day things move at a snail's pace, and this is in direct contrast to the hurricane rapidity with which everything connected with their war effort moves, from the building of a small office to the lightning speed with which a road or an immense air-field is built. But the every-day slow motion is sometimes exasperating. The same attitude is often noticed in various parts of India where there is the excuse of a tropical and enervating climate. Buddhist philosophy with its emphasis on karma may bear the responsibility for it in both countries, but in China there is the additional factor taken from Taoist philosophy: 'Do nothing. The Tao or Way of Philosophy is ever inactive, yet there is nothing that it does not accomplish'—or leave till tomorrow what you can do today, and someone else may do it for you, and you may be thus spared the trouble of doing it! This

is particularly annoying, for instance, in a bus, where a passenger fails to buy his ticket throughout and holds up the bus at his destination while he leisurely buys his ticket. But this philosophy proves surprising in its working. A European in China recently said he would commit suicide rather than adapt himself to the Chinese attitude. And this was his explanation in his own words: 'I have a job with the Government of China with a two years' contract and so I feel secure. But most of the Chinese, including those working in my office have no security and may be out of their jobs tomorrow. And yet they are happy and smile all the time. God alone knows how they do it; it would drive me crazy with depression if I were in the place of any one of them.' This gives in a nut-shell the difference between the philosophy and average attitude to life in the West, and the fatalist, speculative philosophy of the East, both Chinese and Indian. In lands where the monsoon may fail, or a rising river in flood may sweep away all your possessions, in a predominantly agricultural country, you cannot but be a fatalist, putting a low value on personal security, and an indifferent evaluation on the time factor.

It is a question whether the western outlook, too, will suffer a change with the insecurity and uncertainty due to war and bombing. This philosophic attitude does, to a considerable extent, explain how China could 'take it', and how she could bear unflinchingly the burden of an overwhelming campaign where absolutely everything was at stake. We often think eastern nations too philosophical and call for a radical change to give them a chance to survive in modern materialism—are we wise in doing so?

The Chinese individual character can be judged by the national character and its power of endurance. Even in the best of times the Chinese have been afflicted by poverty, floods, civil wars and a whole series of other calamities. The Chinese rose stronger and better prepared after each rigorous test from which they came out unbeaten. The present war has brought the worst of disasters to China during the long period of over seven years. But the people have suffered all hardships and privations without collapsing, and their endurance has surprised the world. It is evident that a nation without character could not

have survived such tribulations and still be in a position to face it further, indefinitely.

The impression of Chinese character that often arises through insignificant little details, that are based on tradition and social customs, is misleading. It is often said that the Chinese do not mean what they say. This is to some extent correct, but to the initiated his polite roundabout reply will convey as determined a refusal as the single word 'NO'. Again, in his criticism, the Chinese is not direct or open, for he believes in his politeness that when criticism comes to the state of open hostility the period of constructive criticism is over, and the period of open warfare has set in.

After all, politeness may have its value, as when a Chinese master dismissing his servant offers him his wages, thanking him most profusely, as a hint to the servant that his services are dispensed with. But if the servant fails to take the hint, the master will go so far as to disparage his own self, rather than the servant, by assuring the latter that he is too good for his master and should seek another employer who will be more fit to receive his services! Ceremonial politeness and formal etiquette is equally rigid in China as in other countries, as in the case of Table Manners, for example. Chopsticks etiquette requires that: (1) the guest should not serve himself from a dish until the host has at least pointed to the dish with his chopsticks, (2) the ends of the chopsticks should be closed when approaching a dish, (3) the selected piece of food should be picked up cleanly without poking around to select a piece, and (4) chopsticks should be placed together over the rice bowl, with the thicker ends towards the diner, when he has finished—they may be placed down on the table only after everyone has finished eating. These 3,000 year old customs are still observed.

The Chinese are hyper-sensitive to the feelings of others, which leads them to indulge in self-depreciation. A proud father or mother will talk of his *ugly unintelligent* children, and the proud possessor of a palatial house will call it a hut. A learned man will offer to learn from anyone who praises his knowledge; and similarly in every respect they run down their own qualities and achievements to give 'face' to the other side.. 'Face' or public

appearance is the main concern of the Chinese, and a man in the wrong even though he knows he is in the wrong, will argue for hours to convince you that he is not in the wrong. A meek quiet man will rise to blustering rage if there is any attempt to make him lose 'face', but once having gained 'face', even the most ostentatious and self-important person will become humble again with no limit to his self-humiliation. And this applies to the highest and the lowest.

The Chinese sense of humour is proverbial, and though every individual is liable to be touched to the quick at any derogatory remarks against his nation, his Government, his province, or himself, he can take a cutting joke with equanimity and even relish it. A joke has often saved a man in a tight corner, and has frequently prevented an ugly situation from developing into open violence. A feeling of *camaraderie* is frequently established by giving and taking a joke. Their jokes are essentially ingenious, and though at times out of bounds for prudish sentiment they are never merely obscene or coarsely personal.

Though repartee and a clever situation are fully exploited as comic elements on the stage, and farce is not neglected, the most popular device is the unveiling of hypocrisy and the disclosure of stupidity that conceals itself behind artificial manners and put-on airs. •

Their humour is not sophisticated, but is simple and elementary and a farcical situation like a person slipping and falling on a muddy road, will evoke hearty laughter from the passers-by who will crowd round any comical situation. The simplicity and the childlike nature of their humour is due to the naturalness of their character and to their contempt of everything artificial and superficial.

Making due allowance for certain national characteristics and temperamental peculiarities, there can be little doubt about the greatness of the character of the nation as a whole, which has helped them to survive and will carry them much further.

CHAPTER VIII

Emancipation of Women

Whether the emancipation of women leads to the progressive advancement of the nation, or whether it be an incidental consequence of such advancement, is as insoluble a problem as the question of the precedence of the egg or the hen. While Turkish women were casting off the 'purdah', while Russian women were organizing and leading people's committees, Chinese girl-students were facing bullets and death in the cause of the Revolution.

The Chinese woman is no longer the toddling, fragile silk-clad doll of old times, whose beauty was judged by the smallness of her feet, and who therefore had her feet bound from childhood. During the last few decades the world outside had begun to realize that Chinese girls had refused to have their feet bound, for they were actually taking part in athletics. Then came Pearl Buck's famous novel 'The Good Earth', taking us back to the village, to the soil, and giving a very definite picture of a type of Chinese woman, marking her, if not branding her, as the docile submissive wife. Within bounds, Pearl Buck's picture was true of the type of woman still to be found in out-of-the-way villages, and largely true of what Chinese women were till the success of the revolutionary movement, and it has, through the book and the film, made a definite impression that is hard to modify.

Women in China are thoroughly emancipated and 'modernized'. You find a large number of smart women going about on their business in the streets of the important cities of Free China. War or no war, the Chinese girl pays the fullest attention to her appearance and make-up; long hair is a rare sight on the streets, for women of all ages are bobbed and most of them effectively 'permed'. The manufacture or importation of lipstick is banned as an article of luxury during the war, but the majority of Chinese ladies somehow or other manage to get it. They not only claim equality but they act equal and refuse to accept the so-called privileges of the weaker sex. A young woman will insist on standing in a bus even if someone were to offer her a seat. The average Chinese lady does not seem to be very fond of jewellery, for she wears very little of it, and even her dress is the plainest possible, though

well cut. This may be one of her little sacrifices to war conditions. A mere man idling down the streets in a busy city like Chungking, should not be surprised if he gets pushed and jostled about by busy young women in a hurry!

The traditional Chinese ideas and ways of living used to give woman an inferior position. Sons were very welcome, for they were useful in farm labour and also kept the family name going. There is an old Chinese proverb which says: 'If you get a son, all other things will come to you.' A daughter was naturally not very welcome as the father had to shell out a substantial dowry at her marriage.

All the household work was done by the wife and the daughters. The eternal mother-in-law had a very strong position in the Chinese family system, and having lived a life of servility in her own time as a daughter-in-law, when she rose to the position of mother-in-law she took it all out on *her* daughters-in-law. The family system in China, as in India, is an oriental system. The proudest day in the life of a man or woman was to see himself or herself the grand-parent of a large family. The influence of the head of the family was very great, not merely over his own immediate children, but also over succeeding generations. But the wife's position was not one of unmitigated inferiority, nor was she treated like chattel. She could frequently get her way through her husband, and in due course of time, as she grew older, she occupied a very influential position in the family circle, and had a very large voice in family affairs. Even today the younger generation knows that grandmother has more say in family affairs than grandfather. The subordinate position of women was due to their financial dependence on the husband and his family, as in their own right they could only possess their own jewellery. The economic dependence of women has invariably been the cause of their inferior status all the world over, but with the opening of more professions and occupations to her under war conditions, the Chinese woman has come into her own unopposed.

Till a very short time ago orthodoxy prevailed, and men and women would be segregated in different rooms

even at the same tea party in the same house. No young girl could go out even to see a girl friend, unless she was duly chaperoned. Generally, a young girl could hardly go out with a young man until she got engaged to him, and then she could only meet her *fiancé* provided she was properly chaperoned. But you can trust to a girl's ingenuity to overcome these difficulties, in whatever part of the world she is. By arrangement with domestic servants the young girl could always meet the young man in the temple garden or any other secluded place, 'by accident'. Her main hobbies were chess, playing the flute, calligraphy and painting. While she was still young, she could go to a girls' school, or if she belonged to a richer family she would have a private tutor at home. She had to spend most of her time at home doing embroidery work, and in the more orthodox North she would have to do the house work and serve the family at meals. If she was born after a son had been born in the family, she was not unwelcome.

But all this is largely a matter of the past. Today in all the bigger cities, including various cities under Japanese occupation, woman has come into her own and has reached her present position not merely through war conditions, but also due to the long struggle she put up for her own rights during the last quarter of a century. It was the Revolutionary movement that gave her her freedom. Co-education is now the general system in schools and colleges, and an increasingly large number of girls go in for University education. In fact, you find them everywhere from women bus-conductors and women barbers to chemical engineers, doctors, lawyers and even women judges; they are also in the diplomatic service and in all Government offices, and a lady today is included amongst the seven forming the presidium of the People's Political Council. In some provinces like Yunnan and Kwangsi, women have captured most of the professions and the mere male has to do most of the domestic work. She goes about her work in uniform and in slacks, although in ordinary social life feminine decorum prevails, and a woman in slacks is a very uncommon sight in Chungking. She refuses to fall in with the family-arranged engagement and selects her own mate. Under war conditions, parti-

cularly in cities where accommodation is very limited, the joint family system has broken up, and not infrequently the girl makes it a condition that she will only get married if she gets a separate flatlet or even a single room to live in, rather than dwell comfortably in the family establishment.

The married woman follows her own profession and refuses to give it up on marriage, and as most of these professions today have something to do with war work, the husband can hardly ask her to throw it up. Consequently, both the husband and wife lend a hand in the domestic work of the household, both leave for office at the same time and return at the same time, and the husband has no right to claim the comforts of a tired man on returning home, but, on the contrary, may have to do more domestic work than his wife who, as the physically weaker party is entitled to more privileges. Nowadays a wife not only has her independent income, but she can own her own independent property. She joins her husband in all his pastimes, including sports, games, picnics, hiking and pictures. She is entitled to have men friends if her husband has girl friends.

Legally, divorce is possible on the grounds of adultery, cruelty, and incompatibility of temperament ; but divorces are very rare. A divorce is a social disgrace both to the husband and the wife, and so both will avoid it at all costs.

There can be little doubt about the fact that women take life seriously, particularly under war conditions. That explains why make-up and dress are simplified, and less time is devoted to them. Under war conditions men's woollen clothes are more expensive, and so the roles are reversed, and it is the wife who scolds her husband for his extravagance in dress. Women are great readers, their selection of books ranging from fiction to more serious fare, and there is a fair number of women authors of the first rank. •

In China, women are giving as great a contribution in war work as in any other country. Women students go to the front line to comfort the troops, to give dramatic performances for their recreation, and they train as nurses operating on the front line. If the soldier in certain sections comes from an illiterate countryside family, it is

these girls who write his letters to his family and also help him to learn how to read and write. Behind the battle line, they manage orphanages for war orphans, make warm clothing for soldiers, and help to spread the New Life Movement that has a wonderful propaganda effect all over the country. Even earlier, most of the preparatory propaganda for the establishment of the Kuomintang was done by women, thus assisting the Government to unify the country.

The work of guerilla women is too well-known to be dealt with in detail. Intelligent educated women blacken their faces, disguise themselves as peasant girls, and thus move in and out of the Japanese lines escaping detection, organize various acts of sabotage and guerilla raids. The movement of men in similar circumstances would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, and it is here that women and children play a heroic part. A number of women guerillas have been captured, tortured, mishandled and killed, but the fight still goes on.

Women have even offered to join the ranks as soldiers. The old prejudice against soldiering, which was considered the most contemptible profession, is now over. 'You don't need good iron to make nails, nor do you need good men to make soldiers' is an out-of-date maxim, for now the girls not only respect the uniform but endeavour to don the uniform themselves.

There is hardly any sphere of life in which woman has not entered and where she has not insisted on her due rights. In the province of Yunnan, for example, women are the labourers, and many of the men are idlers. Travelling across the lake in a boat, you often find the man lazily lounging at the rudder, while his wife and daughter, hardly a girl of ten, do all the hard rowing. But as you disembark it is the wife who pushes the husband aside and takes the fare, giving a part of it to the daughter, while the man remains empty-handed. This is a typical instance of the Chinese women's outlook. They will take all that they can by right and nothing as a favour.

It is very evident that women have an individual will of their own and hold definite views on various matters that concern them and their interests. They encroach on the erstwhile monopolized professions and careers of

men, they pay little attention to false standards of modesty that were imposed on them to keep them in doll-like seclusion as pretty decorative ornaments, but they still maintain their feminine charm and character through their naturalness and instinctive understanding.

Their views on life form a revealing commentary on their outlook and aspirations, as seen in the results of a poll that speaks for itself: One hundred and fifty maidens from 17 to 22 years old told of their ideal life in a poll conducted in Chunking. Their replies to the questions reveal the interests and inclinations of the modern Chinese girl.

WORK AND INTERESTS: What is your best liked subject in the school curriculum? Literature, 40 per cent; natural science, 28 per cent; art and music, 10 per cent; and social science, 10 per cent.

What is your major subject? Accounting, 74 per cent; home economics, 16 per cent; arts and letters, 11 per cent; natural sciences, 8 per cent; foreign languages, 5 per cent; statistics, 3 per cent; agriculture, 3 per cent; education, 3 per cent; medicine, 3 per cent.

What is your ideal career? Agriculture, 23 per cent; medicine, 22 per cent; politics, 18 per cent; education, 16 per cent; industry, 14 per cent; banking, 4 per cent; law, 1 per cent.

What kind of books do you like best? Literature, 75 per cent; popular magazines, 11 per cent; scientific subjects, 3 per cent; social sciences, 3 per cent; applied sciences, 3 per cent; history, 2 per cent.

To what do you propose to devote most of your energy in the future? To work, 68 per cent; home and work in equal shares, 14 per cent; to home exclusively, 18 per cent.

What is your favourite amusement? Movies and modern stage plays, 33 per cent; travel, 22 per cent; reading, 22 per cent; music, 11 per cent; sports, 8 per cent; painting, 4 per cent.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE AND HOME: Should there be social intercourse between men and women? Yes, 97 per cent; no, 3 per cent.

When is the ideal time for love? After the completion of university education, 61 per cent; during university days, 34 per cent; middle school days, 4 per cent.

What kind of family system do you prefer? Those who prefer to have a small home with husband and wife going out in the morning and returning in the evening, 48 per cent; American small family system, 41 per cent; Chinese big family system, 10 per cent.

EXPENDITURES: Food averages 50 per cent of the expenditures although some need as much as 90 per cent; clothes averages 10 per cent; books 10 per cent; cosmetics 5 per cent; amusement and sundry expenses, 10 per cent.

MARRIAGE: When do you prefer to marry? Twenty-five years old, 23 per cent; 30 years old, 22 per cent; 26 years old, 7 per cent; 20 years old, 6 per cent; 'when the time comes', 5 per cent; 'refuse to marry', 3 per cent.

How many sons and daughters do you want to have? Two sons and two daughters, 36 per cent; no son and no daughter, 15 per cent; one son and one daughter, 14 per cent.

Do you want to keep on with your profession after marriage? Eighty-six per cent answered 'yes' and 14 per cent 'no'.

CHAPTER IX

The Generalissimo—His Views

Within the second decade of the present century established political theories of complacent democracy were rudely shaken by their impact with the higher efficiency and ruthlessness of rigidly organized militant countries.

The twentieth century has proved to be the age of dictatorships. Starting with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Ataturk, who built up a new Turkey, and saved the country from threatened extinction, a number of dictators have followed, and have proved beneficial or otherwise to their countries. Under conditions of democracy, war necessitates dictatorship, even though the word 'dictator' may have to be used with discrimination. The 'dictatorship' of Chiang Kai-shek is on par with the 'dictatorship' of Roosevelt or Churchill. Exceptional power and discre-

tion have been given to all the three to enable them to come to rapid decisions in the interests of their nations, during the continuance of warfare, as the consultations of normal times with their delays would prove disastrous to the nation. Like his colleagues of the United Nations, the Generalissimo has become the leading figure *through the office he occupies* and is not in any sense a Fascist Dictator who remains above all office.

The sovereign power in China rests with the Executive Yuan, of which the Generalissimo is President. He is also President of the Republic and concurrently occupies a number of leading positions in the Government which strengthen his position as the leader of the nation. All these positions have come to him through constitutional procedure and election.

Dr Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of the Revolution and the Father of Free China, could do no more than lay the foundation, and it was left to his successor to carry on his work and to achieve as much, if not more than the founder, in the unification of the nation and its attainment of freedom and independence. The Generalissimo is held in the highest respect throughout the country and even his opponents have never questioned his integrity and his devotion to duty, his selflessness and his service to the country, their differences with him being largely questions of method and policy. The Sian incident more than anything else exhibited the position he held as the only man with liberal ideas who could achieve the unity of China; his opponents, the Communists, were the first to press for his release. There is little doubt that his personality counts very largely, and it would be exceedingly difficult to find a successor for him for some years to come. The destiny of the nation is linked up with him, and that also accounts for the high respect, if not reverence, which his people exhibit towards him.

His ideas and policy may well be explained through extracts from his own speeches which also help to explain the man to the world. Probably the most contradictory opinions exist in his case in countries outside China; whereas on the one hand he is considered to be the saviour of China, there are some who consider him the worst enemy of his country. The latter opinion is largely due to a partial

evaluation of the happenings and incidents of the last 18 years, and also to the one-sided news and views sent abroad by some foreign correspondents, who, with a small knowledge of the language, are prepared to accept anything on hearsay without verification, specially if it makes a good 'story' that will give the writer plenty of publicity.

The following extracts give an idea of his personal opinion of the struggle, which now reflects the feeling of the whole nation :

'First, the Chinese race has always been peace-loving. The internal policy of the National Government has always been directed toward maintaining internal unity, and in our foreign relations, mutual respect and co-existence with other nations.

'Our people should understand our own strength. For the past few years we have bent all our efforts toward patient endeavours to insure peace in face of great difficulties and grievous pain, so that we may achieve national reconstruction.

'But although a weak country, if, unfortunately, we should have reached that last limit, then there is only one thing to do. This is to throw the last ounce of energy of our nation into a struggle for national existence. And when that is done, neither time nor circumstance will permit our stopping midway to seek peace. We should realize that to seek peace after war has once begun, means that terms would be such that the subjugation of our nation and complete annihilation of our race would be encountered.'

Chiang Kai-shek's expeditions against the Communist party in China have often been considered abroad as an unnecessary waste of man-power, and it has also been insinuated that these fights were carried on for personal ambition. The following extract will explain his ideas in this connexion.

'The path of the Revolution has been strewn with serious obstacles which have caused a huge expenditure of the nation's resources and much suffering on the part of the people. The effects of domestic troubles have thus impaired our strength to meet the external menace which has grown more and more serious with the passing of time.

'To avert such a dangerous drift the Government

during the past few years has made a supreme effort to achieve internal solidarity and its consistent efforts have at last been rewarded. Those who have been dubious of the Three People's Principles have gradually realized the paramount importance of our national interest and buried their differences for the sake of internal unity. Today there is ample evidence that the Chinese people have fully awakened to the fact that they are bound to live or perish together. All realize that the interests of the nation take precedence over the interests of individuals or groups of individuals.

'The manifesto recently issued [1937] by the Chinese Communist Party is an outstanding instance of the triumph of the national sentiment over other considerations. The decisions embodied in the manifesto, such as the abandonment of violence, cessation of Communist propaganda, abolition of the Chinese Soviets and disbandment of the Red Army, are all essential measures toward the preservation of national existence.

'I hold that we revolutionaries should struggle not for our personal ambitions but for the realization of the Three People's Principles and the common weal of the Republic. Especially during this period of national crisis, when the fate of China lies in the balance, we should not allow our national interests to be overshadowed by past differences.

'In the re-orientation of its policy, the Chinese Communist Party has given clear proof of its solicitude for our national independence and the interests of the country as a whole. I sincerely hope that all members of the Communist Party will faithfully carry out the vital decisions it has reached and fight shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the nation for the successful completion of the Nationalist Revolution.'

In view of the speculation about China's endurance against the forces of invasion for any length of time, and as to whether it may or may not come to terms with Japan, a few facts may prove interesting. While there can be little doubt about the advantage the Chinese have in the nature of the terrain of their country in the war, and the extensiveness of their territories that help them to retreat without being completely under foreign occupation, there

is one more factor still which is the most important of all that helps them in their resistance: the determination that arises from their national character. It is fairly well-known that Japan has frequently offered peace terms that were comparatively advantageous to China, and if she has not accepted them even after terrible sufferings of seven years of war, the reason is obvious. The Generalissimo and the people realize that any patched-up treaty, not based on the complete withdrawal of the Japanese, may afford temporary relief in their sufferings but will ultimately lead to a repetition of the present position. This is what he has to say in this connexion:

‘As long as I live, I will pursue to the utmost of my ability the determination to resist to the bitter end and to secure ultimate victory for the nation. Only by that attainment could I repay the Party, The Government and the People.’

‘First, in the course of China’s national revolution, the present armed resistance against Japan is inevitable. Externally China desires independence and internally she seeks an existence free from bondage so that she can complete the establishment of a new state. For this reason the present ordeals could not be avoided. Our armed Resistance is, therefore, a war of democracy as enunciated in Dr Sun Yat-Sen’s San Min Chu I (Three People’s Principles) that is being fought against the brutal forces of Imperialism. Unlike wars between belligerent nations having equal combative strength, our fight is for independence and self-preservation.

‘We have pursued the fight not unaware of the fact that in point of military preparedness we are behind others: but this handicap cannot subdue our revolutionary spirit.

‘In the second place, we must realize the fact that in the course of the revolution it is essential for China to pursue the war of Resistance to the very end. No matter how the present situation may change, we must not surrender but must march onward. To fight on may not bring us early victory, but to capitulate is to court certain national disaster. Rather than abjectly submit and suffer national ruin, we prefer to fight on and face the possibility of defeat. The tide of battle can often be turned from defeat to victory, but if we were to lose the status of

a nation it might be irrecoverable. If we should be deprived of our independence, the enemy's measures of oppression would be even more ruthless than his present inhuman tactics and there would be no prospect of regaining our statehood.

'The deeper the enemy penetrates into the interior, the more impossible his position will be. If he should desire to occupy forty million square miles of Chinese territory and conquer four hundred million Chinese people, what an enormous army he would have to place in the field.

'If all of our people are determined to pursue a tenacious Resistance everywhere, then the time must come when Japan's military strength will be completely exhausted, thus giving us the ultimate victory. That is the basis of our conviction—that resolute Resistance will bring the ultimate victory to China.'

His ideas on the establishment of a democratic constitution are outlined as follows :

'Held at the commencement of the second stage of our war of Resistance, the third session of the People's Political Council and its proceedings have attracted considerable attention from people both in China and abroad.

'Now the third session of the Council is due to adjourn. Though the Council will soon be in recess, its members will not cease, even for a moment, their patriotic activities. I feel certain that so long as the Council keeps on popularizing this spirit of positiveness and of mutual help by sincerely supporting the authorities and by busying itself with worth-while activities, not only the Government will be benefitted thereby but the people will be moved into joining the struggle *en masse*.

'In the history of Chinese Political Institutions, the Council will assuredly occupy a position of importance and glory. The historic mission of the Council is to pave the way for a constitutional form of Government and in particular to erect a base on which to build a genuine democracy.

'If the people cannot look after their own interests, manage their own public affairs, in other words, if they cannot participate in political activities, they cannot build up a strong nation. The most powerful and at the same

time most stable nations in the world are constructed on the people's will, and unfailingly the interests and views of their governments are identical with those of the people. The objective in Dr Sun Yat-Sen's principles and theories is to create a nation wherein the government is of the people, by the people and for the people. Either in China or in foreign countries the same ideal prevails.

'We are now simultaneously prosecuting the war and carrying on reconstruction. To be successful in both, we cannot rely on military strength alone. Instead, we must mobilize the people's spirit, and organize such spiritual forces as have already been awakened. Herein lies the reason why, besides strengthening our military forces, we must mobilize the people's spirit and consolidate their views.

'True, it is our duty as members of the Council to fight for national independence and freedom, but it also depends on us whether China can, during this difficult time of war, complete the ground-work for a genuine democracy, which may be used as the base for a lasting peace and order in the future.

'The People's Political Council is not an ordinary discussion assembly, but a guiding body in our war of Resistance during which we must share the same hardships and co-operate full-heartedly to tide the nation over storms. It is not only a place where public opinion can be aired but also a place where the people's power is centralized. We, members of the Council, must be people of action as well as formulators of national policy.

'As far back as 3,000 years ago when writing was invented in China there were already manifestations of democratic ideas. The Yu Shu in the Shu Ching (Book of History) says: "The wisdom of Heaven is reflected by the wisdom of the people and the judgment of Heaven is based upon the judgment of the people."

'Confucius says: "Love what the people love and hate what the people hate." Mencius says: "The people are to be valued." All these ancient maxims are the source of democratic ideas and the crystallization of the Chinese traditional spirit. It is in this ancient and profound civilization that Dr Sun Yat-Sen's Principle of Democracy originated.

'If China wants to continue to exist as a nation in this world, we should one and all, form the law-abiding habit. We should consider it an honour to respect and observe the law and a disgrace to violate and undermine it. Neither should we work for selfish ends under the pretext of freedom nor evade our responsibilities and find excuses for being remiss in our duties as citizens. Just as Government officials should loyally perform their duties, so should all the people jointly share the responsibilities and do their part. Only thus can China attain true equality.'

Chiang Kai-shek's utterances on the future of the Chinese race in connexion with Asia and the World, should dispel misgivings and suspicions that exist about the 'Yellow Peril' and 'Asiatic Domination of the World', and it should at the same time prove a warning against exploitation and domination.

'Dr Sun, the Father of the Republic, made it his great aim in his revolutionary leadership to secure for China freedom and equality of status among the nations of the world. The Principle of Nationalism had first to be applied. Then obstacles to the solution of problems involved in the application of the Principles of People's Rights and Livelihood would be removed. The vindication of our national honour has been the unvarying demand of the whole Chinese people, alike of those who were, and were not actually concerned with the work of revolution. In 1927 the world began to understand China, and if it had not been for troubles at home and menace from without, the unequal treaties would have been abolished long ago. Half of the obstacles were due to mischief done by the Japanese imperialists and half due to pretexts founded upon our own lack of unity. The present success is the result of more than five years of war.

'Having now attained equality of status with our Allies and other nations of the world we must shoulder the responsibilities this age has laid upon us. The nation is responsible not only for its own interests but also for those of the world. No difficulties or sacrifice must deter us from the fulfilment of our duties as one unit of the forces of the United Nations, and after the war we must be prepared, as a progressive and free nation devoted to the cause of justice, to do all that is required of us in collaborating

with those nations to recreate world order and effect the deliverance of mankind. China is the largest and most ancient of Asiatic countries, but it is not for us boastfully to talk of her right to a position of "leadership" among those countries. In the spirit of the saying "all men are brothers", we shall rather regard it as our responsibility to treat the peoples of Asia, like all suffering and oppressed humanity elsewhere, as equals to help and support. Recognizing equality as the highest guiding principle in international affairs, we shall do well neither to underestimate nor overestimate our own importance and dignity. It is precisely Japanese militarism, with its ambition of dominating Asia under the pretence of organizing a 'Coproprosperity Sphere for Greater East Asia', that constitutes the universal enemy we are determined to crush.

'We have been fighting this war of Resistance with purity of motive and consistency of principle not for any selfish purpose, but for the salvation of the world through first saving ourselves. Toward Asia, as toward the whole world, we wish only to do our duty, to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desires incompatible with the moral dictates of love, and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit.

'Insisting on national independence for all peoples, Dr Sun's vision transcends the problem of China and seeks equality for all peoples of the East and West alike. China not only fights for her own independence, but also for the liberation of every oppressed nation.

'For many centuries Chinese society has been free from class distinctions, such as are found even in advanced democracies. At the core of our political thought is our traditional maxim: 'The people form the foundation of the country.'

'I hear that my American friends have confidence in the experience of men who have "come up the hard way". My long struggles as a soldier of the Chinese Revolution have forced me to realize the necessity of facing hard facts. There will be neither peace, nor hope, nor future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small. We should bear in mind one of the most inspiring utterances of the last World War, that of Edith Cavell: "Standing

at the brink of the grave, I feel that Patriotism alone is not enough."

'We Chinese are not so blind as to believe that a new international order will usher in the millennium. But we do not look upon it as visionary. The idea of universal brotherhood is innate in the catholic nature of Chinese thought.

Among our friends there has been recently some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and toward them China feels she has only responsibilities, not rights. We repudiate the idea of leadership of Asia because the "fuehrer principle" has been synonymous for domination and exploitation, precisely as the "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over grovelling subject races.

'China has no desire to replace western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism, or isolationism of its own or of anyone else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional blocs which in the end make for bigger and better wars, to the effective organization of the world unity. Unless real world co-operation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the now interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us."

And his farewell message to the Indian People on 22nd February 1942, is in the same strain :

'China and India comprise one half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to three thousand kilometers. In the two thousand years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in

order to secure real peace for the whole world.

‘Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind.

‘I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

‘Lastly, I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India’s freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.’

CHAPTER X

The War and its Effects

‘In the land of the blind, the cock-eyed is King’, runs an old adage, and ‘None is more blind than he, who having eyes, seeth not’ completes the picture of the foreigners’ mal-observations, or cock-eyed survey of the theatre of war in China; and the few reports that are sent out are not from personal observation, as no foreigner can get behind the lines in occupied territory where the guerillas do more than half of the fighting of the campaign.

For a variety of obvious reasons, there are many wild conjectures about the direction and strategy of war on the Chinese front. Various charges have been 'levelled against China, alleging that the war is conducted in a very dilatory manner, and that the Chinese and Japanese fraternize, even in the midst of war.

Nothing can be further from the truth. It may be difficult to see things in their proper perspective due to the particular conditions that exist. Japanese occupation is not complete occupation of any extensive area. As it is in the form of armed and garrisoned islands, Chinese communication continues in spite of occupation. It may seem surprising that a letter from Chungking can reach places in occupied territory ; but communication between Japanese occupied territory and Free China is still maintained. It goes back to 1935, when the English and French were in charge of the Chinese Post Office, and they, as neutrals, arranged the transmission of letters. Letters from both sides are censored and carried to a place agreed upon along the corridor separating the Chinese and the Japanese armies, from where they are exchanged and transported. Besides, the Chinese postal system functions in the very heart of occupied territory, in between the islands of occupation, and from there the smuggling through of letters to the smaller occupied zones is not at all difficult, particularly as the Japanese have to permit the free ingress and egress from one island of occupation to another of the native inhabitants, in order to maintain internal supplies and communication.

As the Chinese lack heavy equipment like tanks and heavy artillery, it very often happens that when heavy Japanese forces advance the Chinese line bends without breaking. But the Japanese advance is often temporary, as the guerrillas from behind cut off supplies and make their advanced positions untenable. Thus Changsha, which fell in the middle of 1944 into Japanese hands, and which was considered a serious blow by the outside world, was really a matter of much less importance. Few realize that Changsha had fallen into Japanese hands four times in the past, and had been retrieved by direct and guerilla action as often.

Japanese treatment of Chinese guerillas, and sometimes

of the population, has often been exceedingly harsh and vindictive, particularly after the losses they have incurred due to guerilla action. Women and children are not spared as they too form a part of the guerilla forces. Whole villages are razed to the ground, with heavy loss of life, as punitive action. This has naturally created great bitterness and done away with all possibilities of the Chinese being even indifferently inclined towards the Japanese army of occupation.

It has often been alleged that the Chinese are not making full use of the foreign war equipment sent to China with the insinuation that this equipment is being stored for use in the future in internal disturbances, including anti-Communist action. The absurdity of this is patent on the face of it, when it is realized that, apart from the American planes, the total amount of foreign equipment is under 10 per cent, and under Lease and Lend is as low as 2 per cent, due to difficulties of transshipment amongst other causes. For purposes of internal administration and security, a part of the army was placed at strategic positions in the North, which might have served double objectives of defence against surprise inroads by the Japanese, as well as preventing any insurrection by the disbanded Communist forces, in case there was any attempt in that direction; this has given rise to the allegation that the largest section of the army is 'idling' in the North.

The Chinese are undoubtedly less prepared in ways of modern warfare than the enemy, and so while it is easy for outsiders to declare that they should bring the war to an early conclusion, it is not so easy to amplify and carry out such directions. But the very fact that they undertook the Great Exodus and have stood up for seven years, indicates more than anything else, their implacable determination to free their country from foreign domination, and if for want of heavy arms their tactics and strategy use their forces and equipment to the best advantage to preserve their strength and their man-power, it is an unworthy slander to term this dilatoriness. A comparative study of the resistance of various better organized and better equipped European nations against Nazi aggression, and the rapid collapse of these nations is very significant. In spite of their superior strength, America and Britain

have taken years to win back their territories occupied in the beginning by Japan, even with the advantage of supplies and no blockade.

• A certain amount of smuggling trade, on a small scale, is being carried on between occupied territory and Free China, and though the government does not give direct encouragement, it may be conniving at it. Ordinarily, trading with the enemy helps to fill the hostile war coffers with whose help attacks are launched, and it is therefore bad policy. Securing urgently needed supplies, by a barter system of smuggling as China does, is not so reprehensible, and foreign correspondents, living in glass houses, are only vindictively casting stones at China in this connexion. What China does directly and openly, is hardly equal to the 'feats' of other nations—as can be seen in the following 'confession' from the American Newsmagazine *Time* of the 1st March 1943 :

'When the Japanese took Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, they captured 90 per cent of the world's supply of crude rubber. Malaya as a rubber source was written off.

'But all Malayan rubber was not lost to the U.S. Last week' it was learned that a small trickle has begun to come to U.S. ports once more *via* Japan and Russia. Tokyo, saddled with a mountainous surplus, sells it to the Soviet Union ; Russia again trades it for U.S. war goods which she needs to fight Japan's allies in Europe. Some day Malayan rubber from Japan might roll again down Singapore's wide streets under the U.S. flag. Meanwhile, the world had another example of a paradox of international war and commerce : how to trade, at second hand, with the enemy.'

OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT WAR

The first acts of hostility by Japan go back to the seizure of Formosa in 1895, and Korea in 1910. The earliest act of aggression of the present war was the Mukden Incident in September 1931, leading up to the seizure and occupation of four north-eastern provinces, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungking and Jehol. Due to unsettled conditions, and the fact that the Central Government had not established itself firmly at that time, a policy of appeasement was

followed, and Japan took fullest advantage of it by creating a puppet state covering the heart of North China. Early in 1936 Japan was again on the war path and demanded armed support, from puppet provinces and other semi-autonomous provinces, in its operations against the Chinese Communists. Failing to get it, the Japanese then started on a series of created or fabricated 'incidents', making them excuses to seize and control extensive sections of the Peiping-Hankow railway. Actual hostilities started on 7th July 1937, when the Japanese held large-scale manoeuvres in the North. The Japanese alleged that one of their soldiers was missing, and demanded the right of searching the city of Wanping. As this was turned down, the Japanese started hostilities spreading the line right down to Shanghai, in an attempt to 'beat China to her knees'.

Under the existing conditions, China had to decide on a special strategy to enable an indifferently armed country to fight against extremely well-equipped militarized forces. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had decided on this strategy, long before the out-break of hostilities, using China's vast territories, her rich resources, her large manpower and the characteristics of the race, to the fullest advantage.

The first step taken by the Chinese army was to keep the Japanese engaged, and to hold them up, to gain time to increase their own strength. A long and extensive line of battle was necessary to scatter and break the enemy strength, and so the Chinese made all possible efforts to extend the line of battle and the theatre of operations as widely as possible. There was another point too in this strategy, as it made Japanese advances in any one direction perilous and costly, leaving undefended flanks for guerilla operation.

Japanese hopes of bringing about a quick victory were frustrated from the outset. The battle of Shanghai developed into a fight all along the coast and all through the extensive Yangtze Valley, making the Japanese concentration of troops at Shanghai difficult and inoperative. The Chinese wisely decided not to defend each point to the absolute limit by fighting to a finish, but would withdraw at the eleventh hour after having exacted a heavy toll from the invading forces. Japan soon found

herself involved in a much bigger war than she had counted on, and from a few hundred thousand men, had to increase her fighting forces to over a million, and provide vast quantities of heavy equipment to fight on a two-thousand mile front. From a small beginning with 25 divisions, the Japanese soon had to increase the number to nearly 40 divisions within the first two years of the war. At present the largest concentration of Japanese forces is on the China front.

The most striking development of the war was the improvement in strength and quality of the Chinese army. Frequently, with inferior equipment, Chinese troops have inflicted staggering defeats on some of the best Japanese units. At the outbreak of hostilities the Chinese regular army was only about one million seven hundred thousand strong, but in the course of time this has risen to over six millions indifferently equipped regulars with almost double that number of recruits and reserves. The guerilla force, which is most effective, consists of nearly four hundred thousand regular trained organizers, who, with the help of the local population, form a numerous army that spells disaster to the Japanese cause. Complete figures of the Japanese losses are not available, but by this time they must have reached the colossal figure of nearly three millions killed and wounded. The number of major campaigns has gone well over twenty, and guerilla action has resulted in almost 20,000 guerilla battles.

The Chinese make good soldiers, as they are very receptive to instruction, naturally resourceful, and, with the low value they place on life, they are not afraid of facing death. The discipline of the Chinese Army is exceedingly good. In view of the nature of the war, the Chinese soldier is given something beyond mere military training. Very often on such extensive fronts, a small group of men may have to fight independently, with little or no direction, and with equipment that is generally insufficient, so a high sense of responsibility is inculcated in them and they are trained to imbibe a spirit of nationalism, that gives them determination and endurance. This is often termed the Spiritual Basis of War-training.

Military training institutions were divided into two branches, one for the training of cadets to become officers.

and the other to train officers for special duties requiring special technique. But under present emergency conditions, the two branches are frequently combined in one military academy centre. Different training schools are maintained in different parts of the country, according to requirements. The Cavalry School in the North, the Transport and Supply School in the Centre, and the Infantry School in the North-west and South-west give training according to exigencies of the situation, and Guerilla Training Centres have been established in most sections. Most of the cadets are drawn from the more intelligent sections of the population who have done a course of junior or middle-school training, preferably those who have graduated from those schools. In view of Japanese methods occasionally employed, anti-gas warfare training has been started and is given on all fronts, as it is claimed that there have been over a thousand gas attacks already. Travelling circuit classes, giving refresher courses, form a co-ordinating contact unit.

Very special attention is given to Guerilla Training Classes, and often men from the regular army who have distinguished themselves are transferred to the guerilla force. This also helps joint action in co-operation between the guerillas and the regulars. The guerilla training given is of such a high grade that a number of Allied Officers have received training there, after the outbreak of the Pacific War.

THE CHINESE AIR FORCE

On the out-break of hostilities China suffered badly from aerial attacks as she had neither anti-aircraft guns nor any effective fighter aircraft. This is one of the main causes that accounted for the Japanese successes in the first four years of the war, and their rapid advance with their almost invincible air force. But since 1942, with the co-operation of the American Volunteer Group, the Chinese Air Force has built up a strong fighting power that has proved the greatest defence against air raids for her large cities, her industries, and for the regular battle line. The Chinese air force has played a very important role in the various battles of Changsha in the centre, and has also succeeded in raiding Japanese shipping depots, destroying fleets of

junks and steam launches. Most of the planes are American. The reconnoitring action of the Air Force has been of the greatest value to the Chinese Army and has enabled it to launch repeated counter-attacks.

The Japanese controlled Shanghai radio repeatedly mentions raids by the Chinese Air Force, and it is certain that these raids have caused enormous damage. American planes fighting with the Chinese and often jointly manned by Chinese pilots, have proved to be a very important factor in the war. The Sino-American Air Force was first concentrated near the big cities to defend them, but later on various new military aerodromes were built in the South-east in record time by sheer manual labour without any mechanized equipment, forming the bomb-Tokio air bases.

Apart from the training given to Chinese pilots in China itself, a number of Chinese cadets go across to the United States for a short course of higher training, and on return undertake the training of other pilots.

The Chinese Air Force is still very moderate in size, and although the figures of the present strength cannot be disclosed, nearly 400 planes were purchased by China by 1942, but the number must be enormously larger today as is proved by the safety and immunity from air attacks of most of its larger cities.

WAR-TIME CHUNGKING

Chungking is representative and symbolical of China, standing up with endurance for its freedom and independence. The misty, cloudy atmosphere forms an excellent barrage against air raids and is one of the reasons why this city originally of only 300,000 inhabitants was selected as the war-time capital where the population has now increased to almost a million. Chungking population in April 1944 was 944,729 of which 584,019 were men and 360,710 were women. Of the total of 1527 foreigners, 500 were Americans. It is situated in the centre of the Szechwan province, one of the richest provinces in agricultural products, and recently also discovered to be rich in mineral deposits. Though formerly one of the most bombed cities of the world, its recent freedom from air raids due to the growing American and Chinese air strength

is apparent, for today it shows practically no signs whatever of the past bombing.

The very appearance of Chungking illustrates the spirit of the people and their resourcefulness. The city is full of mud and bamboo structures built to last not more than ten years. Government offices are lodged in the few old stone and brick pre-war buildings, mostly schools. The ordinary conveniences of life are almost impossible under war conditions, and running water or modern toilets are conspicuously absent in all but a few buildings. There is hardly any drainage system, apart from the natural drainage of the hill-side. Over 1,000 tons of garbage are taken daily from the streets and homes of Chungking. It is quite a job for the city government to clear away all that garbage of its more than 900,000 citizens without any modern equipment, not even a single garbage truck. Under the city government is a Cleaning Corps. Through the use of bamboo buckets and wooden poles, 1,300 employees of the Corps are engaged in a daily cleaning job. Garbage helps the citizens to get more land for house-building. With every piece of land available for house-building in this mountainous city occupied, new-comers can only house themselves on land filled in by garbage. Hundreds of acres of land in the city where big houses or vast buildings now stand were reclaimed that way.

Conveyance is scarce and the buses and rickshaws in a dilapidated condition. Sixty persons or more are packed like sardines, in a bus that should seat sixteen, and a two hours wait, in an almost two furlongs queue, is one of the ordinary circumstances of life in Chungking. 25 buses make 14 trips a day giving 350 trips each way. These buses are all pre-1936 models. Taxis are unknown, as there are hardly a few hundred cars in the whole city only used for essential services by high officials, and the regular use of rickshaws is a bit too heavy on the purse.

Food, fortunately, is plentiful, and more than half the number of shops in Chungking happen to be restaurants; the very number of restaurants proves that food is not expensive. Local cigarettes and cigars, though not of the best quality, are available at fairly cheap rates, and the poorest man can afford a smoke as he can also afford his

daily glasses of tea. Shortage of paper may make the book situation rather difficult, but there are plenty of bookstalls and quite a number of books are regularly published and sold, as the Chinese process of stone-impression printing can be done on inferior thin paper on which ordinary printing would be impossible.

Leather shoes or boots are worn by those who can afford them, but the native population considers straw sandals, and canvass soled cloth shoes a tolerable substitute. Shoe-shine boys and girls are found all over the place doing quite a thriving trade.

Due to the lack of communication there have been hardly any imports from 1940 onwards, and therefore foreign goods, especially clothing, are very expensive. Second-hand clothing changes hands at a high price in the 'auction shops' of the city, that is, second-hand shops selling every possible thing available. This has led to the misconceived complaint that Chungking is a city of luxury where more things are available than in an American Department Store. Pre-war purchased goods find their way to these shops from people who were formerly rich and comfortable but have now started selling their old belongings, bit by bit, to make both ends meet; and this explains the variety available.

Recreation and amusement are rather scarce, but life is not without amenities. Wines and stronger drinks are available, but drunkenness is very rare. A few picture-houses, which are always overcrowded, exhibit pre-war Chinese pictures and worn-out prints of American films, with explanation in the Chinese script projected from a separate slide on a separate strip-screen on one side of the main screen. Gambling is strictly prohibited and hence Mah-Jong is banned in the country of its origin, because every one down to the poorest used to indulge in gambling in this game. But human nature being what it is, gambling still flourishes on secluded roadsides. Dice, crude roulette-type wheels, table-golf or bagatelle, are popular forms, and an ostensible sweet-meat hawker produces the equipment and takes 20 per cent of the stakes, as generally the gambling is carried on exclusively by the public with the hawker as stake-holder. Rickshaw pullers, and men and women of the labouring classes indulge in this little thrill with small

stakes, and melt away at the approach of a policeman. Ball-room dancing is looked on with disfavour as a frivolous pastime for a fighting nation, though foreigners may organize dances at which Chinese nationals may be invited. The old Chinese Opera still retains an important place in Chinese cultural life, but the modern drama, often translations from the Russian and the French, and Symphony Orchestra Concerts, are rivalling the influence of the older form of entertainment.

The weather of Chungking is most uninviting, being bitterly cold in winter when the chilly moisture seems to creep into the bones, while in summer the thermometer can rise to over 110 degrees, and the moist, steamy heat makes life very uncomfortable. The climate is definitely unhealthy, and with the lack of sanitation, leads to various diseases like malaria, and dysentery; and conditions are further aggravated by the lack of foreign imported drugs. The moisture in the atmosphere leads to pleurisy, frequently resulting in T.B., but the natural cheerful temperament of the people and the quantity and quality of food they eat helps to ward off these diseases.

NEW LIFE MOVEMENT

Extension evening classes and night schools are fairly popular in Chungking, and Ladies Clubs organize cooking, sewing, language and other classes for the benefit of their members, and they are always well attended. Chungking and its suburbs contain numerous schools, university and technical institutions; it is in fact the most important centre of learning in Free China. Due to the fear of air raids, the libraries are not very well stocked, as the best treasures of art and literature have been stored in dug-outs for safety. But besides the National Central Library, there are various smaller libraries run by the New Life Movement and the Youth Corps, and the reading rooms are full of industrious young men and women engrossed in study and in taking lengthy notes from the few books available.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek started the New Life Movement seven years ago to revitalize Chinese national life. Of all ancient Chinese virtues, four receive particular attention. They are *li* (propriety), *yi* (righteousness),

lien (integrity), and *chi* (sense of humiliation).

One important phase of the Kuomintang youth training is the promotion of social service among young boys and girls of China.

Together with organization, publicity and training of the youngsters, social service, which aims at increasing their usefulness and mutual assistance, is being stressed under the direction of the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang Youth Corps. It holds up social service as principal means to strengthen and expand youth training in the interior of China. Its activities include assistance to youths seeking higher education, training of youths in war and border areas, expansion of youth labour camps, promotion of health, co-operative, savings and mutual aid measures among youngsters, and vocational guidance to new graduates and unemployed youths. The Corps also sponsors gliding, riding, swimming and other physical exercises.

Youth labour camps stress the practical needs of national defence and economic reconstruction. Members are required to engage in productive occupations. For example, thousands of the Kuomintang Youth Corps members have during the past few years assisted the farmers in sowing and reaping.

To improve the daily life of the youths, producers' and consumers' Co-operatives have been formed, clinics established and athletic grounds built. With special funds a mutual insurance system has been started among unemployed youths and students forced to discontinue school. Discussion meetings are held to discuss youth problems. Cheap boarding and lodging houses for young men and young women are available. The youths are also called upon to assist in spreading social and citizens' education in the country. Special tutoring classes for the youths themselves are conducted.

The effects of the war can be seen by the careful observer in all spheres of life; but the tranquility and even tenor of every-day life may seem misleading as this calmness is one of the characteristics of the nation, and helps them to build for peace while still engaged in war.

Cultural Life and Thought

Chinese philosophy is a compromise between the metaphysics of the West, and the spiritual speculations of India. Based on ethics, it has always been practical and never visionary or airy. The sudden impact with the West tended to upset various traditional ideas and to overthrow various traditional systems without providing any substitutes. This did lead to a period of absolute confusion from which China is now emerging with more confidence. But the conflict of cultural ideals is still visible and it may take some time to strike a proper balance.

The eastern cities of China had taken to westernized manners often with little understanding of them and hence with little depth. Consequently, character and morals deteriorated, and life was entirely on the surface, with pleasure and entertainment as its main objectives. This applies particularly to Hongkong and Shanghai, and when during the Great Exodus people from these towns had to emigrate some of them found themselves out of place in real traditional Chinese society in Chungking and other cities of Free China, and it is still extremely difficult for them to adapt themselves to the changed environment. The true cultured Chinese tends, unfortunately, to look down on these people with contempt, and even though the contempt may to some extent be deserved, the only solution lies in a sympathetic handling of these people with a view to inculcate in them greater depth of character and insight.

Chinese culture has come under the influence of the West, and some in aspects profited by the contact, while in others it has weakened and turned into something nondescript.

Chinese music has a very old history and tradition, but it never reached that height of technique, that was achieved by its neighbour, Indian music. Consequently, Chinese music and musical instruments are severely simple. Their melodies are often weird, and discordant to foreign ears. With western influence a new type of music started in Canton, called modern Cantonese music, which seems to be based on negro spirituals, with an admixture of

Chinese melodies. The Chinese have taken to western music in a very thorough manner, and are exceedingly well versed in western classical music. They have orchestrated their own music on western lines, and modern young composers have produced symphonies as well as lighter pieces. In spite of the difficulties of procuring either instruments or musical scores, their symphony orchestras have attained a good standard, and their schools of music teaching western music are progressing fairly well.

The educational department of the Music Education Commission deals chiefly with school music. A program for the improvement of music education in schools was promulgated in 1939 based on answers to a questionnaire circulated among all elementary and secondary schools. Standard music curricula for these schools were revised to suit present war conditions; a new curriculum and system for training musical talent and music teachers was drafted; special choirs were organized in Chungking which sang before various schools; and simple instruments, like the mandolin and flute, have been successfully experimented with and have been introduced in the schools.

The editorial department of the Music Commission compiles song books that are now being printed, like the *Chinese Ceremonial Song Book*, *Chinese Military Song Book*, *Chinese Modern Song Selections*, *Chinese Song Selections through the Dynasties*, *Chinese Instrumental Music Album*, *Chinese Alma Mater Song Book*, *Chinese Folk Song Selections*, and *Famous Songs of the World*. Besides, a periodical entitled 'Yueh Feng', meaning 'Music Trends' is published by the department.

The research department is at present located in Kunming, Yunnan. Its members study and collect music of the primitive tribes in the south-western provinces. A comprehensive index of music publications through the dynasties is being prepared, and a special committee of musicians and scholars is engaged, under the direction of the department, to write a book entitled *Introduction to Chinese Music*.

To make the Chinese people music-conscious is the task of the social department. The head of the department leads a travelling chorus of 20 mixed voices spreading education and entertainment through music in the South-

west. This department is also responsible for two half-hour musical broadcasts each week, giving patriotic and artistic songs to the radio-listeners all over the country.

In spite of the war there are frequent exhibitions of paintings in Chungking with both ancient and modern exhibits, on the average about twice a month. The Chinese art of painting is very ancient and started long before the artistic instinct in the West found its expression in colour or sketching. This may be largely due to the fact that the hair-pen was invented in China at least 200 years before the birth of Christ, and both silk rolls were used as writing material and paper was invented in the Han Dynasty at the time when the Roman Empire was spreading its culture in the West.

The traditional style of painting is noted for its delicacy of lines and great wealth of details. The colouring is always subdued with perfect blending; contrasting colours are scarcely ever used. In the landscapes particularly, a single colour is often used with extensive variation of shades and tones. The vague impressionism created by the delicacy of lines and shades of colours is in accordance with actual landscapes as they are in Nature in China. The oriental principle of a double or triple perspective is universally used in Chinese landscapes where the hills and mountain ranges in the background, generally cloud-capped, form the upper perspective, with waterfalls and the upper heights as the middle perspective, and with streams, rivulets, houses, bridges and Corot-like figures in the foreground. Extraordinary effects can be created with Chinese ink, and the depths of tones and shades in the ink-sketched landscapes are unrivalled. Portraits and full-figures are uncommon, though birds and flowers or flowering trees are quite popular as themes. Animals are often included as part of the landscape but in some cases they stand out in the foreground. Lions and tigers are usually depicted, but action pictures of horses in bold outlines have become popular in recent times.

◦ The decorative effects of Japanese art have had some influence on some Chinese paintings, where in landscapes, the crowding of trees and the bare lines of the upper perspective exhibit less delicacy and the greater impressionistic boldness and flatness of Japanese paintings.

The art of rock-printing started in China about 100 A.D. when stone cuts were used for printing classics and reproducing temple figures like the Goddess of Mercy. Most of these stone cut figures exhibit Indian influence as they became more popular after the spread of Buddhism and were mostly produced in Buddhist temples. The famous black impression prints with white outlines come from these temples.

Chinese paintings and sketches are generally made on the thinnest of tissues like rice-paper and occasionally on silk or thin glazed bamboo strips, and on account of the material the artist has to be exceedingly careful as there can be no correction or blocking out. The art of mounting these thin tissues on paper scrolls with stretched silk borders is exceedingly difficult, and can hardly be successfully carried out in any other country.

Quite a number of Chinese painters have been influenced by western technique, and the heavier lines of western impressionism with its brighter colour-scheme are also visible. Some of the leading artists have also taken exclusively to the western medium of oil, and their oil paintings have nothing in common with the traditional Chinese art. Sculpture and metal-cast figures are rather scarce due to lack of materials, and even paintings have suffered due to lack of suitable paper and colour pigments. The Chinese fondness for art is visible everywhere, as painting scrolls will be found even in the poorest hovel and also adorning the walls of tea-shops and restaurants. Caligraphy is still held in high esteem, and specimens of good caligraphy on scrolls share the honours with paintings on the walls.

Drama is still very popular in cities and in villages. The old drama or the old Chinese opera still attracts large crowds of all classes. Its theme is generally historical, relating the exploits of a wise national administrator, a brave General, or sometimes of a happy-go-lucky popular adventurer, but more often it treats of the change of dynasty and the incidents that accompanied it in history. The stage is practically bare of stage accessories and furniture, the costumes are magnificent and masks are considerably used. Much is left to the imagination of the audience, in fact so much that according to an old saying 'actors are lunatics' as they speak in a forced, unnatural

way, and 'spectators are idiots' who gape and applaud without comprehension or discrimination, the Opera as acted on the stage. Although the tickets are priced high in city theatres, in the past no admission was charged but the spectators had to pay for refreshments, whether they wanted them or not. Strolling players used to tour villages, giving performances that often lasted for two or three days, specially at festival times. Admission was free, but the temple-revenues bore the cost, and if there was any further deficit a collection was made and none dare refuse to contribute for fear of 'loss of face'. The modern Chinese drama is either a full length drama or a one-act play. The subject often treats of the war in its various aspects, the sufferings, and the need of resistance: but many of these dramas deal with the clash between orthodox and newer ideas, the fight of youth against age, and all the problems of modern social life. Quite a number of the one-act plays are translated, specially from the Russian, and at a recent performance of three one-act plays in Chungking, two were translated from Tchekov, and one from the French of Labiche; all the three were so exceedingly well acted that it was possible to follow the action of the plot, in spite of a very indifferent knowledge of the language. Foreign operettas are performed specially in Missionary University centres, and there the excellent Chinese male voice is heard to advantage. Chinese films are very popular although there are very few due to lack of raw materials, most of them being shot in pre-war days. The standard of these films cannot compare with foreign films.

Picnics particularly on Sundays and holidays is another pastime, and it is significant of the Chinese outlook that most of their picnic grounds are the gardens and pavilions of temples, Confucian and Taoist, and Tea-shops and Restaurants are permitted within the precincts. The cheapest form of entertainment is available in some tea-shops. A list of narrative songs written on a strip of cloth is circulated among the tea-drinkers, and anyone may select a song from the list which will be sung (in a recitative sing-song tone) by a couple of women to the accompaniment of a simple string instrument. The person selecting the song has to pay a small amount for

the privilege of hearing his favourite song. These songs are narratives, based on folklore and popular stories.

China today is doing her best to go 'western'—the Chinese claim that with discrimination, they are accepting and drawing all they can from western culture and civilization and absorbing it. They justify their attitude by referring to the strength of Japan, with a sneaking admiration attributing its 'progress' to rapid westernization. But there are some in China who realize the danger of China following in the footsteps of Japan and losing her national characteristics in favour of pure mechanical power and materialistic 'culture'.

The break-up of the family system, the backbone of Chinese life and character, is looked upon with favour by most of the urban population, and they hardly realize how disastrous this will prove when it spreads to the village. Fortunately in this matter too, there are a few who foresee the danger, and it is possible that after the war there may be a real renaissance in China with a definite attempt to recall and renew what is best in the old culture. Situated as she is today, rapid industrialization and westernized military forces are both essential for the survival of the country as an independent nation, but a good thing can be carried too far and the danger lies in a blind following of this tendency. With the difficulties of war and war conditions, the nation fighting with the minimum of equipment has to depend on its spiritual power—using the word spiritual in the sense in which the Generalissimo uses it, that is, ethics and morality in a wider sense, which builds up the true national character which alone can keep up the spirit of resistance and endurance through a long trial.

Probably this is one of the biggest problems of the future for China, and until the war is over it will be difficult to decide which direction the country will take. The place of China in the scheme of things for the future, looms large. As an extensive and large Asiatic Power she is bound to influence the future of that Continent. If the westerners succeed in forcing her directly or indirectly to adopt western militarism, they may be throwing a boomerang. China with her 450 millions, and India with her 400 millions would, if combined, form nearly half the population of the

world, a force to be reckoned with, for peace or war. The presumption, drawn from the past history and culture of the two nations, is in favour of peace, but the attitude and future action of the West will be the deciding factor that will turn it in any direction. The writing is on the wall.

It is strange that China has had little contact with her more immediate Asiatic neighbours. Mongolia and Tibet were absorbed in the Empire in the past, and contact with Russia till recently has been rather desultory. Over a thousand and five hundred years ago, the first Chinese pilgrims came over to India in search of the new religion, Buddhism. Indian pilgrims paid return visits to China and the cultural contacts then established, have continued in a peaceful way even at long intervals of centuries. There has never been any clash of interests between the two countries; at present there are a large number of Chinese nationalists in India, probably over 50,000 civilians alone, and before the war there was a large colony of Indians in the Eastern trade cities, though in Free China there were hardly 25 Indian nationals in 1944. India is represented in Free China through the Indian Agency General Office, which is the equivalent of a Dominion Legation. The establishment by the Government of India of this Office is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. It fulfils, satisfactorily, the purpose of maintaining *social* contact with other foreign diplomats and officials of the Chinese governments. It may be too 'young' at present to be entrusted with Consular powers of granting visas to enter or pass through India or to endorse passports, and it may not be going too far to expect that some day it may possibly have a Cultural Relations Officer (as in the British Embassy), specially as the scheme of exchange of 10 students a year between the Chinese and the Indian Governments has already started functioning. A Trade Attaché is also essential to maintain and increase commercial relations between the two nations, as the British Embassy will naturally be more concerned in fostering British trade, to the exclusion of all other nations including India.

In the blind rush of the worship of westernism, it is gratifying to read the following refreshing and far-sighted words taken from *China's Destiny* written by Generalissimo

Chiang Kai-shek.

'Since the May Fourth Movement, the ideas of Liberalism and Communism have prevailed in China, with the result that people generally consider that all western things are right and all that belongs to China is wrong. They worship this or that foreign country, all in a similar manner. Different cliques exist among them only because there are more than one country and more than one foreign theory in the world. Each clique imitates one particular country and worships one particular theory, forming a group of its own, proud before its countrymen but submissive before the foreigner. Since the theories of the various countries are forever changing, therefore, the theory of each group has to change unceasingly in line with the changes in the foreign countries.

'As for the struggle between Liberalism and Communism, it is merely a reflection of the opposition of Anglo-American thought to that of Russia. Such theories and politics are not only unfit for the national life and the people's livelihood of China and opposed to her original cultural spirit, but also reveal that their promoters have fundamentally forgotten, that they are Chinese and have lost the standpoint of learning for China and applying their learning for China.'

CHAPTER XII

The Future

That 'History repeats itself' is perhaps true of the ultimate processes of human evolution; for though the repetitive process may often fluctuate and the evolution of a nation may have periods of involution, *i.e.* retardation or even temporary suspension, it can never have a period of actual regression.

Deductions drawn from the history of China seem to incline towards uncertainty; they indicate that the future of China is likely to be very disorganized for a time but on the whole the nation is and will be moving steadily though

slowly towards solidarity and complete unity. The prospects do not incline towards unalloyed optimism, since the immediate future is fraught with great difficulties. It is possible that China may once again be temporarily disrupted, that War-Lords, or rather their equivalents in political parties may arise again, and for some time the country may suffer under a weak system of nominal central authority.

Internal troubles present an appearance, which, with a little exaggeration, lead to the conclusion that there is still no unified front. With the end of the war and the consequent disbanding of the troops, the country may be open to the disasters brought on by ambitious self-seekers, who may attempt, on the strength of their purse and power, to engage the disbanded soldiers and build up personal armies. Though the influence of the Central Government has been spread wide enough, reaching the very peasants and the tillers of the soil even in remote villages, there is naturally some doubt as to whether this contact will prove strong enough to sustain the nationalist spirit and prepare the people for further sacrifices after the war. In certain ways the Communists may be better prepared, and may have come to a larger measure of understanding with the people in their territories, and they will naturally hope to spread their system all over the country. As against that, there are power-thirsty ultra Capitalists who, though an infinitesimal minority, can pull certain international strings; their interests are bound to clash with those of the Communists. The future depends on the Kuomintang's successfully balancing the situation and gaining the support of all patriotic parties.

China has had to take heavy war loans and subsidies from the U.S.A. and Britain and there is a wide-spread apprehension that these nations may gain dominating interests in the economic sphere after the war, until the complete repayment of their loans.

The situation is further complicated by a lack of fully trained personnel to carry out reconstruction. Due to war conditions students and Government servants have had an indifferent type of training and it is doubtful whether the military officials who at present fill many important offices, will be the best persons to work out reconstruction.

But, on the other hand, the picture is not as dark as it can be painted. The possibilities are great, and there are certain factors that indicate a hopeful direction being taken. To begin with, Chinese industries have increased considerably even under war conditions. The tapping and exploiting of natural resources has been extended, though it is a recent development in the territory of Free China. A very large personnel will be required to work the industries after the war, and the disbanded soldiers with their war training and discipline will form a strong industrial force for the development of the country's resources.

In China's post-war economic reconstruction first consideration will have to be given to national defence. Disarmament will most likely form an important issue at the post-war peace conference, but the western powers, even with most drastic cuts, will not fall in armament to a par with China. China has practically no navy, scarcely any air force and no tanks and other mechanized units. Britain, America and the Soviet Union, even if they should make a serious attempt at disarmament, will not eliminate their naval fleets, airplanes, tanks and artillery pieces. A balance of power in post-war world order, therefore, means for China armament rather than disarmament.

In China's national defence industries after the war, she will need the co-operation of friendly nations in the West. Foreign co-operation in China's post-war economic reconstruction may take many forms. The Chinese government may negotiate for loans to be used for the development of heavy industries and other economic projects. There will be many projects in the field of economic reconstruction for which Chinese technique, personnel and finances may be lacking. For the promotion of these enterprises, foreign concerns may be encouraged to come to China. With the abolition of all unequal treaties after the war, these firms will have to operate in strict accordance with Chinese law, and the grievances resulting from extra-territoriality will no longer exist. China may export her agricultural and mineral products to foreign countries in exchange for machinery and equipment for her industries.

On the other hand, in China there are still quite a few who favour economic nationalism, expressing apprehension

over a wholesale co-operation with foreign powers. This is the natural outcome of the unequal treaties by which China was yoked in the past. The situation is, however different now, as the unequal treaties have been abolished.

The Chinese people will prefer to share the great task of reconstructing the world. Economic nationalism will have to be abandoned in favour of internationalism to achieve world co-operation. Economic nationalism is the root of world disturbances which have proved harmful to China's progress.

China may not have to adopt a protective barrier after the war if foreign powers are willing to offer financial and technical help. China is an agricultural country. She will be able to compete with other powers for the marketing of farm products. China has well laid the foundation for the development of light industries. With better technique, China may become a leading textile and wheat-flour exporting country in the post-war world. Heavy industries and mining will be handled by the Government. Foreign goods will have little chance to compete with many other Chinese industries and handicrafts, as in China labour is much cheaper. If China is forced to adopt a closed-door policy in her post-war reconstruction owing to the lack of foreign help, China will still be able to complete her economic program, though under harder conditions and for a longer period of time with a protective barrier.

The Communist question is not likely to figure at the expense of a joint and united front, against the possibilities of foreign economic aggression. It would not be difficult for the Communists to foster their Party and Principles, under the wing of the Kuomintang Party, with its original principles of liberal socialism, if the Kuomintang, free from war restrictions, again leans in that direction. And foreign interests may work in the right direction by assisting in the establishment of a strongly organized Central Government that will unify China, and thus provide prosperous markets for foreign goods. The personal influence of Chiang Kai-shek is the strongest factor that will help in this direction to bring about a combination of all parties into a strong Government that will gain the confidence of foreign powers. And it seems certain that this Government will take up an independent attitude and

will not bow to the threat of internal dissensions or of foreign capital.

China after the war will be entirely different from her pre-war state, as the process of evolution and development has forced on the pace in a variety of ways under war conditions. This rapid development will help to stabilize the finances of the country and go a long way towards the repayment of heavy foreign debts accumulated during the war. The hitherto untapped resources of the provinces in the centre, including coal and iron, and the surplus of grain due to intensive cultivation, should be sufficient in quantity and value to repay debts in a short period.

China's greatest disadvantage in the past was her provincialism that deprived her of a unified front. This provincialism was due to meagre contact each province had with the rest of the country, leading to a physical isolation. With the majority of people occupied in agriculture and living on the soil, there was very little temptation to travel unless it were absolutely essential. Lack of transportation added to the conservatism that is natural to an agricultural population, but war conditions have brought about a radical change. In the bigger cities of Free China like Chungking, Kunming, Chengtu and Kweiling people from all parts of the country have been brought together, and the variety of dialects with their difficulties has been overcome by every one learning the standard Peiping dialect. This has led to mutual understanding and a spirit of tolerance for the different manners and customs of the different provinces. But it is not the cities only that have been affected. The mass exodus of millions of people from the sea coast to the North-west, the Centre and the South-west, has brought about more contact in villages and hamlets where some of these refugees have had to settle down. It is estimated that at least 50 million people have emigrated from the East to the West.

One of the most important results of this exodus is the introduction of industries, education and culture to the backward regions of the West. While the East had entered on the Machine Age of industrial technique, the West was still lingering behind in almost primitive agricultural conditions. The influx of the more forward people has brought about such a rapid change, that methods of

agriculture have been revolutionized within the short period of five years. This will give China a greater chance after the war, both through the progress she has achieved and through the exchange of culture and ideas between the provinces.

The war has also brought the Central Government closer to the people. In the earlier days, for centuries the Government was nothing more than a tax-collecting agency established at a remote distance. Today the Central Government has undertaken various plans and schemes like irrigation, the building of new roads, health projects, agricultural, co-operative aid, etc., which bring it straight into the life of the people.

This gives the best proof of Chinese resourcefulness; having organized a new Government in a new region, and maintained the war front and at the same time, having brought in various measures of internal progress and economy, the Chinese nation also demonstrated its organizing capacity to the whole world.

The question of the depletion of the population of China due to the war is not as serious as it seems. China has the largest population in the world, and probably the highest birth-rate, but unfortunately also a high mortality rate. In peace time twelve million people died every year and, under war conditions that may have been doubled; but new measures introduced by the Government to lower the rate of infant mortality, to fight diseases and thus lower the rate of the general mortality, will probably more than make up for the loss of life during the war.

The danger of a sudden disruption of the social system through the breaking up of the family system under the strain of war conditions is not very real. War has led to the separation of the members of the family. It may have even led to more cases of bigamy and some increase in divorces, but this is so limited and exclusively within the narrow city limits, that it cannot undermine the strength of the family system. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that even in the old times the basic family unit was a single family, and although a number of small units shared the same roof, they generally cooked their own food, tilled their own fields and brought up their own children, so that the physical separation if it comes will not be as

radical as was feared.

One of the biggest factors that has arisen through war conditions is the levelling of classes. This will have a far-reaching influence and a rejuvenating effect over Chinese society and will give it that new outlook which other nations have achieved and are achieving in a changing social order.

The New Life Movement, the Chinese Youth Movement, and the Communist ideas will all contribute to the working up of a new enthusiasm wherein Chinese industry and character may overcome the lack of intensive training.

The Pan-Asiatic outlook has been ever present in Chinese thought, from the beginning of the Japanese war of aggression. China has the additional problem of Overseas Chinese and of the Border Provinces of Tibet and Mongolia which are under Chinese rule. This has introduced an international outlook, and along with the bitterness that has arisen through Japanese aggression and the consequent sufferings, there is always a feeling of regret that 'the elder brother', that is Japan, which was so close in cultural ties to China, should have betrayed Chinese confidence and played the dirty game of selfish aggression and exploitation. It is because of this deep-rooted feeling that Japanese attempts to set up puppet Governments have proved abortive. The only possibility of a future alliance between China and Japan lies in the overthrowing of the militarist clique in Japan, and the rising of a new spirit that will be the very opposite of the present Japanese outlook.

In spite of the Kuomintang-Communist clashes, the average Chinese does not consider Russia with any disfavour. In fact, the Chinese Communists have little to do with the Soviet Government and *vice versa*. The Chinese on the contrary feel that Russian influence may be favourable at the end of the war, in compelling Japan to remain non-aggressive and in forcing it to move in the right direction while China will be busy in reconstruction.

China may prove very important for America not merely as a trade outlet, but as the mainstay of the American social system. America may soon reach the saturation point in home absorption of its products; the South American market may be equally limited, but the Asiatic market is full of unexploited possibilities. Without such an outlet the American social and political structure

might soon become decadent and need either external support or a revolutionary internal change. China has plenty of scope for industrialization and will require considerable help from industrial powers, including America.

The Chinese dislike of the foreigner which led to the Boxer Risings and various other incidents, is undoubtedly deep-rooted, but the Chinese character is neither vindictive nor unforgiving. On a basis of equality—real equality, not merely political slogans—China would undoubtedly be prepared to forget the past and look forward to a future of closer co-operation on equal terms with foreign powers. The British attitude with regard to Hongkong will have to be re-defined. As is often rightly said in Free China to-day: 'Keep Hongkong and lose the foreign trade of China, or lose Hongkong and retain the foreign trade.' This gives the whole position in a nutshell, and most of the British on the spot realize the truth of it.

Foreign powers insisted on having extra-territorial rights on the ground that Chinese law was ineffective and unsatisfactory. In a treaty signed between China and Great Britain in 1902, therefore, it was stipulated in Article 12 that the Chinese government wished to improve its judiciary system and organizations so as to bring them on a par with those of the West, and Britain was to help China to attain this goal and relinquish her rights for consular jurisdiction as soon as she found that all judiciary reforms and improvements in China had been brought to a satisfactory stage. Similar provisions were included in treaties subsequently concluded between China and the United States, Japan, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. All extra-territorial rights have now been relinquished.

The Chinese are not narrowly racial or national. In social life they do not favour isolation from foreigners, specially of those who come with really friendly intentions. As a Chinese gentleman well-known in public life, once stated: 'If a foreigner comes as my brother and asks me for a room in my house I will willingly give it. But if after taking one room, he encroaches on others, and finally squeezes me and my family into the meanest room in the house, if not entirely out of it, I will politely protest and then failing negotiations will attempt to push him out.'

This is typical of the Chinese attitude and of the Chinese character. With a better attempt to understand China and her people, it will not be difficult to make suitable re-adjustments in international relations that will be more in consonance with the peace of the future, provided nations respect one another and believe in the practice, as well as in the theory of equality.

Democracy is assured of a bright future in China because it fits in best with the traditional spirit of her political and social ideals of the last two thousand years.

It is no accident that China was on the side of the Democratic Powers in the first World War and is fighting again in the same camp in the current war; there are historical reasons. The Chinese people love freedom and equality, hate brutalism and are as determined now as they were then to defeat autocracy and tyranny.

Comparing China today with China in the first World War, there are considerable differences. The Chinese Republic in 1917 (the year of China's participation in the war) was six years old. The first parliament in Chinese history had been elected by popular suffrage; a provisional constitution had been adopted; and a permanent constitution was being drafted. Two attempts at a restoration of the monarchy, the first by Yuan Shih-kai who sought to commence a new dynasty with himself as the first emperor, and the second by Chang Hsun who tried to put Henry Pu Yi back on the throne, had ended in failure. In form, China at that time was a democratic country and the Chinese people had also rendered some service to the cause of democracy. On the other hand China was weighed down by the cumulative effect of long years of devitalization. The country had scarcely settled down, and a strong foundation for democratic government had yet to be laid in China. Therefore, in actual prosecution of the war China failed to make any substantial contribution.

In the present war China again took her stand in the camp of the democratic nations. But the internal situation in China today differs vastly from that which obtained in the country in 1917. The task of national revolution had been successfully completed twelve years ago. China has become a unified country, and her program of economic reconstruction is proceeding rapidly.

Despite the various dissimilarities between the principles and institutions in China's political structure and those of the western democracies, China has taken definite steps towards the establishment of a democratic form of government. That she will succeed in her endeavour is assured by historical facts. The philosophy of 'benevolent administration' as preached by Confucian scholars in ancient days might have a different starting point from democracy in the modern sense of the word. The ideal political state of affairs was not, however, tyrannical absolutism but toleration and refraining from bothering the people too much. Naturally, under the sway of such a philosophy, no systematic theory of democracy, nor institutions of popular participation in political affairs, nor legal safeguards of the people's liberty could have been developed.

Chinese history has numerous instances of plain people coming into power. The founders of the Han, the Sung and the Ming dynasties, were all examples of this. Then throughout the dynasties, people holding important posts did not necessarily come from a certain number of 'big families'. There was nothing to stop a capable man of humble birth from ascending to the highest position under the Emperor.

Furthermore, the Chinese people in the old days had considerable freedom in managing their own affairs. They selected their own officials and raised their own funds either voluntarily contributed or equally shared by the villagers. These were good cases of self-government. There was nothing like regimentation.

It is true that democracy in the western countries has institutions organized along certain lines and systems, which did not exist in China before. But democratic ideas and ideals have a deep root in the Chinese people's minds.

With the younger civilization of Europe at cross-roads, having traversed the weary route of destruction and bloodshed, and now wondering whether any of the roads ahead can lead in the direction of even the shadow of the promised millennium, the lacerated world may search for the long forgotten bye-paths of the older Chinese and Indian Civilizations, though they be partly obliterated

by the over-grown weeds :

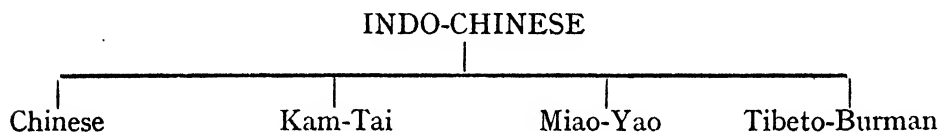
‘The China of old has been a source of wisdom to the West ; young China, in her new status, will be in a position to make tremendous contribution towards the establishment of a sane progressive world,’ said General Wu Te-chan. ‘Through long ages India had travelled and gathered much wisdom on the way, and trafficked with strangers and added them to her own big family, and witnessed days of glory and decay, and suffered humiliation and terrible sorrow, and seen many a strange sight ; but throughout her long journey she had clung to her immemorial culture, drawn strength and vitality from it, and shared it with othe

APPENDIX I

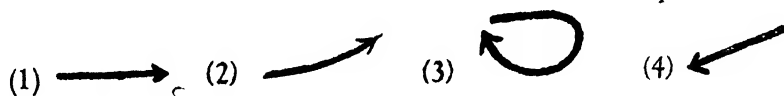
The Chinese Languages

The Indo-Chinese Group of Languages is spoken in China, Tibet, French Indo-China, Thailand, Burma and parts of Assam (India). It is a monosyllabic language, that is, the single syllable is a unit for the formation of words, phrases, and sentences. A distinctive characteristic of this group is the development of 'tones': the same phonetic sound forming a word, has different meanings depending on the tone in which it is uttered, though each word is written differently, as the script has evolved from picture-writing, with distinctive individual pictures for each word.

The group ultimately split up into four branches :



The earliest records of written Chinese go back to 1400 B.C. with inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells. The language has passed through a series of evolutions from Archaic to Ancient, and then to Kuoyu, the Peiping dialect, otherwise known as Mandarin, the National Chinese language, which has only 400 syllables, but different combinations and variations of four 'tones'. The four tones are: (1) Flat, short, just missing being nasal, (2) Rising, (3) Falling-Rising, (4) Falling—a throat tone. These four tones may be represented thus:



The Chinese language is split up into various dialects, which, though pronounced differently in various areas, are all written the same way, as the script does not depend on pronunciation or phonetics.

The Kam-Tai group includes the Tai and the Kam-Sui languages, and is very close to Chinese, with four chief tones, each sub-divided into two further tones; the word order in the sentence is slightly different. It is generally written in the Chinese script, though in some areas bordering on Burma, a Shan script of Sanskritic origin is used. It is spoken in its various dialects in some provinces of China, and in Burma, Thailand and French Indo-China.

The Miao-Yao group closely resembles the Chinese and the Kam-Tai groups, and is current among primitive hill-tribes in mountain regions, mainly in the south of China, and in Thailand and French Indo-China. The writing is in the Chinese script.

The Tibeto-Burman group has tones like the other three groups, but follows the Indian language structure of the sentence, that is, the

subject-object-verb structure. It is spoken in its dialects mainly in Tibet, northern Assam, Burma, French Indo-China, Thailand, and also in some parts of China. It bears a resemblance to the Nepalese dialects of India and its script is derived from the Devnagri or Sanskrit alphabet.

Besides the Indo-Chinese group, dialects of the Austro-Asiatic group are spoken in Annam with a script derived from Sanskrit.

The Altai group furnishes Turkish (Turkestan), Mongolian and Tungus groups of dialects, used chiefly in the north and north-west of Asia, in Mongolia and on the borders of Siberia, with a Turkish-Arabic-Persian vocabulary and written in Arabic, Runiform, Uigur and Tibetan scripts.

The Chinese language, the oldest *living* language, has certain peculiarities of its own. It is a *pure* language without the addition of any foreign words. Word combinations to express new ideas take the place of the coining of words; e.g. a republic is denoted by 'People's country', a university by 'great school', an automobile by 'self-moving car', and evolution by 'proceed change doctrine'. This reduces the number of commonly used words and characters to 4,000, although the Imperial Standard Dictionary published 300 years ago gives 80,000 characters. All words are monosyllabic, ending in a vowel or in the 'n' or 'ng' sounds which are used as vowels. There is no accent in the language, nor is the voice raised in the interrogative, as the four tones take the place of accents. There are no grammatical inflections of number, gender, case, person, mood, tense and degrees of comparison, and no punctuation.

APPENDIX II

The Political History and Philosophy of China

The Chinese are the bearers of the most important living culture that can be traced back in an unbroken line to the Stone Age.

Physically, the neolithic people of North China were of the same stock as the northern Chinese of today and they overlapped into the North-east and the North-west. They also found a kindred physical type in South China. Besides, studies on the 'Peking Man' reveal that the neolithic men in North China were descended from a paleolithic stock native to the same region.

Culturally, these proto-Chinese were primitive, living mainly on hunting, fishing and a rudimentary agriculture. The gradual accumulation of social experience brought about significant social changes. The finding of the 'painted pottery' and 'black pottery' as well as bronze cultures near Anyang in northern Honan proves the possibility and probability of continued Chinese culture from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age, although data is still lacking as to the step-by-step evolution of the proto-Chinese.

In 1300 B.C., Pan Keng, king of Shang, established his dynasty. His empire was feudal in character and he was known as the Son of Heaven, besides being the overlord of the tribes.

About 1100 B.C., a new power, Chou, rose in the West. It overwhelmed the Shang King and took over Chinese overlordship in 1027 B.C. The empire was distributed as fiefs among the Chou ruler's brothers, nephews, sons, cousins, as well as a few loyal ministers. It was the first full-fledged feudal empire in Chinese history.

Around 900 B.C., this empire began to show symptoms of decay. The princes had become stronger and owing to constant warfare, a number of weaker ones were eliminated and the remaining stronger states began to defy the authority of the Emperor. Barbarians from western China with the covert instigation, if not actual assistance, of the princes, defeated the Chou overlord and overran the royal domain.

Four feudal states emerged out of centuries of such turmoil. They were the Chi in the East, Tsin in the North, Chin in the West, and Chu in the South. The entire era was marked by the constant struggle among the four.

The states were ruled by hereditary nobles and the common people had very little, if anything, to do with politics. In Chin and Chu, feudalism had disappeared. Tsin was still feudal in character. It was the first of the four to collapse, and broke into three smaller states which ended the Chun-chiu era and ushered in the era of the Contending States.

The Chun-chiu years saw the flower of ancient Chinese philosophy. Philosophers, mostly from the privileged class, diverged into three schools. First, there were those who had led in the overthrow of the old order, as represented by Teng Hsi; second, there were the pessimists and mystics, exponents of retirement from this world of strife and turmoil, who took to a life of contemplation; they were led by Lao Tze. The third school was represented by Confucius, who worshipped the age of the Empire of the Son of Heaven that had passed and devoted himself to preaching a return to the former days.

The political upheaval resulting from the latter part of the Chun-chiu era brought about a very significant revolution in Chinese political history. The state was no longer feudal in character but a centralized body-politic. Nobility had no control over politics and the princes were absolute rulers. All men were nominally equal before the law. Soldierly was no longer a monopoly of the nobility, but a universal service with conscription coming to be the recognized way of enlistment. Hand in hand with war and bloodshed, philosophy attained its golden age in this era. Though abstract thought was not neglected, all philosophers were interested in the pressing problems presented by the current political and social anarchy and offered plans for the unification or pacification of the world. The passive school, as represented by Taoists, Dialecticians, and Yang Chu, was more or less influenced by the Chun-chiu pessimists and advocated personal development and individual salvation. The active school, represented by Confucians, Mencians and the Legalists, followed Confucius who had a definite code of conduct for curing the ills of the world.

The era of Contending States ended in 221 B.C., when Chin Shih Huang Ti defeated the remaining six states and established a centralized Chinese Empire. It opened the age of united empire in Chinese history. The Chinese kinship system, a development of the feudal clan system, also took its permanent form at this stage, to dominate the Chinese social system. With the establishment of Confucianism as the state religion, of which the teachings on loyalty and filial piety underwrote the safety of the ruling institution and the *status quo* and was thus encouraged by the ruling class, the Chinese social structure was destined to last throughout the years after the Chin and Han Dynasties. The various schools of thought also tended to disappear. Confucius gradually became a somewhat mystical personage. Taoism became a religious practice of charms and the transmutation of metals. The Ying Yang, another Chun-chiu school of thought, degenerated into a study of the five elements, signs of fortune and misfortune, lucky days and unlucky days, and from it grew the thought of Wind and Water.

After the reign of Han Ho Ti (A.D. 89-105) there was an important period of transition. After three centuries of consolidation and unification, the empire began to decline. Barbarians, with lower cultural development but stronger military power, overran the provinces on the northern frontier. Repeated internal insurrections and barbarian invasions shook the empire to its foundations, finally dissolving it into more than half a dozen fragments. After the short period of Three Kingdoms (A.D. 208-263) the Tsin Dynasty managed again to unify the Empire.

A period of spiritual decadence prevailed as Confucianism came to be an ossified system of pedantic erudition and dry ceremonial, with no inspiration for the people or even for the intellectuals. The latter indulged in a decadent form of Taoism, known as Pure Discourse, which served only as an excuse for nihilistic behaviour, denying all the ritual and moral code of Confucianism, drinking to excess, ridiculing and insulting the people of the world in every possible manner. It was in such an age of despair and unrest that Buddhism was introduced, probably at the beginning of the first century A.D. At first obscure and negligible, by the third century Buddhism had become a great dissolving influence for the traditional civilization, just as the barbarians had become a serious menace to the political and racial integrity of the Empire.

Other barbarians followed eagerly in their wake and within the next century more than a dozen semi-Chinese, semi-barbarian states were set up in North China.

By the year 376 a barbarian state known as Chin had consolidated the entire North and was considering seriously the invasion of the South and the domination of all China. A historic battle was fought at the Fei River in northern Anhwei in A.D. 383 and the barbarians were defeated. Had they won and crossed the Yangtze at a time when Chinese vitality was at a low ebb, China would have been re-barbarized and Chinese civilization destroyed. This battle laid the foundation for two centuries of stalemate as between the northern and southern dynasties, during which more contacts were established between the Chinese and the barbarians, with the result that Chinese and barbarous elements coalesced

into a new Chinese race, and Buddhism gave a new impetus to Chinese culture. Classical China had come to an end, and a Greater China, a China with Tartar blood and Buddhist philosophy, had come into being.

Buddhism reached the height of its development during the northern and southern Dynasties and in Sui and Tang times. Buddhist missionaries from India and Central Asia and Chinese pilgrims going to the West became common sights. Buddhist sutras were translated and Chinese treatises developed. A number of sects arose and as amongst them the form of Buddhism in China was determined for the next millennium, and, with additions from Chinese tradition, formed the chief spiritual refuge for the people.

The grandeur of the Sui and Tang Dynasties lasted barely two centuries. The Empire declined from the middle of the eighth century and broke to pieces at the beginning of the tenth, when it was succeeded by the so-called Five Dynasties. Buddhism also declined and the traditional Chinese culture in the form of Confucianism began to reassert itself under the championship of Han Yu (A.D. 768-824) who advocated ousting all foreign influences and restoring the pure Chinese culture of Confucian days.

China of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) was much smaller than that of Tang. Struggles between Confucianism and non-Confucianism, especially the Legalists school, and struggles between realism (led by Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) and idealism (led by Lu Chin-yuan, 1139-1192) in the Confucianist school occupied the full attention of its scholars and statesmen, with the result that the none-too-strong Sung Dynasty became even weaker. Eventually, the Mongols overran China in A.D. 1279. For the first time the whole of China was overwhelmed by a barbarous state and instead of being the Empire, was only part of the Mongol Empire, although the Emperor and his headquarters were within Chinese territory.

The Yuan Dynasty was a period of political catastrophe, recovery, and cultural stagnation. The Yuan rulers whose Empire extended as far as western Europe and with China only a huge and important part of it, nevertheless, were also indifferent to Chinese culture. They not only had no inclination to be absorbed into the Chinese system, but also preferred to see the Chinese adopt Mongol manners and thought. The failure of this effort was the main reason why the Mongols were overthrown after barely 89 years in China.

China of the Ming Dynasty, which followed the Yuan, recovered a number of strategical frontiers which had been lost by the Sung Dynasty. Institutionally and culturally, however, the Ming period was a miserable failure. The 'eight-legged essay' examination system further bound the thought of Chinese scholars and limited their outlook, resulting in a lack of outstanding statesmen in her history. After the naval expedition by the Ming beginning in A.D. 1406, the coastal Chinese began to migrate in large numbers to join their pioneer kinsmen already settled abroad. This marked a new orientation in Chinese development. Always a continental people, many Chinese after the fifteenth century became trained seafarers.

The end of Ming saw another barbarian group occupying China and establishing their own empire. The Manchu (Ching) Empire was different from the Mongol Empire in that the Manchus readily submitted themselves to Chinese culture and were soon absorbed by the Chinese. They also persuaded all the racial groups within the nation to adopt Chinese ways of life and a number of outlying districts were put directly under the Imperial Government control.

China in the middle of the nineteenth century began to feel an increasing impact from the sea, which created a series of new problems other than those arising from the mainland. The first of such disastrous contact was the Opium War of 1839-42 between China and Britain when the Manchu Government tried to stop drug traffic on the coast. The resultant Treaty of Nanking was the first of the unequal treaties. It provided for a heavy indemnity, the opening of five ports, the system of extra-territoriality, the cession of Hongkong, and 'equitable' tariff. Two years later, in 1844, the United States and France followed British footsteps in securing similar treaties with China. Before long all the western powers were granted similar privileges, thus establishing the 'most-favoured nation' system. The French treaty further obtained the right of Christian propaganda in the country and the privilege was quickly shared by the other nations.

A minor broil over a small vessel off Canton was excuse for a joint Anglo-French invasion which involved the entire coast from Canton to Tientsin and ultimately brought the European forces into Peking in 1860 when the victorious armies burned the famous Yuan Ming Yuan (Old Summer Palace).

The weakness of the Manchu Government further encouraged internal unrest. The most serious of the rebellions was the Taiping Rebellion which, starting from Kwangsi in 1850, secured within three years most of the southern provinces.

The French took Indo-China in 1882-85 and Great Britain occupied Burma in 1886. A number of concessions and leased territories were extorted from China in the last few years of the nineteenth century.

Politically still feudal, and culturally a part of the Chinese complex, Japan had within one generation transformed itself into an efficient political machine of the European type and joined with alacrity in the international scramble for special privileges in China. She invaded Formosa in 1874, annexed the Loochoos in 1879 and fought China in 1894, trying to oust Chinese influence from Korea. The first Sino-Japanese War resulted in a Japanese victory and the peace treaty concluded in 1895 gave Japan Formosa, a huge indemnity, and a foothold on the continent by forcing China to recognize Korea as an independent country under Japanese tutelage. Korea was formally annexed by Japan in 1910.

After the Chinese defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War, the western powers began to consider seriously the partition of the old and weak Empire. But the American declaration of 'Open Door' policy in 1899 stopped the scramble for spheres of influence and upheld Chinese territorial integrity. In the previous year, a reform was undertaken by the Manchu Emperor Kwangshu who for about 100 days in 1898 issued

a number of edicts which envisaged far-reaching changes. But the force of reaction, under the leadership of the Empress Dowager, forced the Emperor into virtual retirement and set up a regime of reaction. Finally, in 1900, the reactionary administration sought to defeat the western powers by the employment of the fanatical Boxers, resulting in the Boxer Rebellion. Chinese defeat in this war gave the powers a heavy indemnity, a Legation Quarter in Peking guarded by foreign troops, and an open road between the then capital and the sea with foreign garrisons.

This defeat also sealed the fate of the Manchu Dynasty. The Empress Dowager and her government began to realize their unpopularity and the necessity of somehow meeting the people's revolutionary demands. A half-hearted attempt was made for constitutional reform, but it was too late. The revolutionists, led by Dr Sun Yat-Sen and others, finally brought about the October 10 (1911) revolution, forcing the last Manchu Emperor to abdicate. The Chinese Republic was formally established on New Year's Day, 1912. Despite two abortive attempts to restore monarchism, one by Yuan Shih-kai trying to establish a new dynasty (1915), and the other a plot to restore the Manchus (1917), the Republic was firmly established.

(Condensed from the *China Hand book* 1943)

APPENDIX III

The Chinese Classics

Chinese Philosophy regards knowledge as valuable in itself and never sought knowledge for the sake of knowledge; hence the absence of Methodology and Logic. It has taught the way of the 'Inner Sage and Outer King'. 'The Inner Sage has established virtue in himself; the Outer King has accomplished great deeds in the world; the Sage-Kings is therefore the highest ideal. When the Sage fails to secure the position of a ruler or official, then only he takes to the writing of books. Chinese Philosophy lays stress on what man *is* (his normal qualities), *not* what man *has* (his intellectual and material capacities). The Sage may even, lack in intellectual knowledge.

As business men gained wealth and high position, the conservatives during this gradual collapse, noted that 'the spirit of the age is not that of antiquity, and men's hearts daily decline.' Confucius was one of them—an upholder of ancient institutions; and to gain a following, he had to supply reasons for upholding the past and its institutions, and this led him to collect and re-write the old classics. Others wished to establish new institutions and some were opposed to all institutions whatsoever; this was an Age of Transition, with logical presentation of their respective reasons by various sects leading to the rise of the School of Dialecticians and to anarchy in thought. Ch'in Shih Hwang ordered

the Burning of the Books, i.e., all private books that were not official, to create a standardization of thought out of the existing anarchy. With the fall of the Ch'in Dynasty, however, freedom of thought and writing was re-introduced. But soon Confucianism as a creed flourished, other philosophies lost official favour and only Confucians could become officials. So the period of philosophy ended and the study of the Classics commenced. From the Han Dynasty onwards political, social and economic institutions underwent no fundamental modifications till the present day ; therefore the unique qualities of thought of the Period of Philosophers did not reappear.

Kung Fu Tzu, known to the West as Confucius, was born in 551 B.C. and died 479 B.C. The teachings and philosophy of Confucius and his followers are embodied in the Four Books and Five Classics. The Four Books are : the *Analects* (sayings of Confucius collected by his disciples), the *Great Learning* (a treatise written by his disciple Tsengtze), the *Doctrine of the Mean* (written by his grandson Tzessu), and the Works of Mencius, disciple of Tzessu. The Five Classics are : the *Yi Ching* or Book of Changes used in divination, the *Shu Ching* or Book of History, the *Shih Ching* or the Collection of Poetry, the *Li Chi* or Book of Rites, and the *Chun Chiu* or Spring and Autumn Annals.

The *Yi Ching* or Book of Changes is ascribed to Wen Wang, the founder of the Chou Dynasty, 1122 B.C. It contains 64 short essays of moral, political and social character with 'Ten Wings' or commentary ascribed to Confucius.

The *Chu Ching* or Book of History was originally written between 2400 and 800 B.C. It refers to the Great Yu (2205 B.C.) who led the people through a deluge and established an empire that became hereditary. But the right of selection by the people of their ruler continued to exist, as often Emperors abdicated in favour of Sages. This classic lays down the Chinese Gospel of Democracy : 'The people are the root of the country, and if the root is firm, the country will be tranquil.' Confucius being a conservative attempted to rationalize old customs by giving reasonable explanations and justifications from the official history.

The *Shih Ching* or Book of Odes contains poems of cultural instruction with emphasis on their ethical significance. The Ballads give the cultural folk-lore of the people ; the Odes were of two varieties: those sung at ordinary entertainments and others sung on great occasions ; the Panegyrics or sacrificial odes deal with the social life of the community touching on warfare, unhappy wives, separation, agriculture, the chase, feasting, etc.

The *Li Chi* or Book of Rites is ascribed to two cousins, the Elder and the Younger Tai. It was written during the second and the first centuries B.C., and deals with social rites, manners and customs. The original 85 sections were reduced to 46 by the Younger Tai and form the basis of social life and customs.

The *Chun Chiu* or Spring and Autumn Annals is a chronological record of the chief events in the State of Lu from 722 to 484 B.C. and is ascribed to Confucius. The title arises from the season prefixed to each notice, in which Spring includes Summer, and Autumn includes

Winter. It contains brief notices of incursions, victories, defeats, deaths, murders, treaties and natural phenomena. The *Tso Chuan* is a book of commentary on it written by Tso, a disciple of Confucius, giving life, reality and atmosphere to the bare narrative of incidents by referring to their significance.

Besides the main classics, Confucius also wrote a treatise called *The Rectification of Names*. He insisted on the duties of the King being performed by the King and not the Ministers and considered the ills of the time due to its not being so. It was because the actualities of things no longer corresponded to their names, Confucius believed, that the world was suffering from disorders, and therefore, the names must be rectified. The rectification must begin from the top, the King. The moral character of the ruler determines and influences the character of the ruled.

APPENDIX IV

Mineral Resources

Established mining enterprises were lost in occupied areas, but hitherto unknown resources have been prospected and exploited in the south-western and the north-western provinces.

The Chinese Mining Law of 1938 provides that all mineral resources belong to the State, and prospecting or exploitation and mining rights can be granted by the Government according to law. Foreign capital may be admitted in mining companies with the approval of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, provided the Chinese capital of the concern shall be more than half of the total, more than half of the Directors shall be Chinese citizens, and the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Manager of the Company shall be Chinese citizens.

Iron, mineral oil, coal, liquid fuel, and other important minerals are considered national reserves, and private prospecting and exploitation of these minerals is forbidden.

There were 1,432 mining areas in Free China in 1942 and 900 prospecting claims were registered.

The following table indicates the important mineral reserves in China and the highest figure of annual pre-war mineral production:

<i>Mineral</i>	<i>Reserves in Tons</i>	<i>Production in Tons</i>
Coal	240,847,000,000	20,000,000
Iron	1,694,011,160	1,800,000
Mineral Oil (barrels) ..	1,273,000,000	3,000
Tungsten	1,872,000	7,000
Manganese	20,201,609	21,500
Copper	2,589,965	500
Tin	52,000	11,000
Antimony	2,671,000	14,000
Phosphorus	14,551,680

About 100,000 ounces of gold were recovered annually before the war. Nickel reserves amount to 340,000 tons but there is practically no production of nickel in Free China. About 1,200 tons of arsenic are produced annually. Bauxite reserves amount to 732,000,000 tons with an aluminium content of about 40 per cent. Salt production from rock-salt, salt-wells and sea water is more than sufficient for the needs of the country. Gypsum and saltpeter are available in sufficient quantities. Sulphur, alum, graphite, fluorspar, talc, clay, asbestos and lime-stone are also available in good quantities.

APPENDIX V

Communications and Transport

1. OVERLAND ROUTE :

The overland route from U.S.S.R. to China has been in constant use ever since the Sino-Japanese war broke out. Due to the length of this route which is 3,340 miles from Alma Ata to Chungking and the difficulties involved in motor transport and also the fact of the U.S.S.R. being at war with the Nazis, the volume of supplies coming by this route was not as encouraging as was expected. Again, through co-operation of the Allies, a new supply route by way of Iran and the Soviet Turk-Siberian Railway has been arranged, and it is hoped that consignments will commence in the nearest future.

2. RAILWAYS :

Before the war, China's railways were largely confined to regions north of the Yangtze and to the north-eastern provinces. After the outbreak of the war, in the South-west and North-west there was a tremendous demand for railways, highways, telegraph and telephones, etc. It has been the persistent policy and goal of the Ministry of Communications in the last few years to carry out its program of reconstruction in spite of war conditions. There are in the whole of China 13,340 miles of railways, of which only 2,000 miles are in the hands of the Chinese.

3. HIGHWAYS AND MOTOR TRANSPORT :

As against the pre-war highways of 73,340 miles, there are now in Free China 55,000 miles of which 4,000 miles were built during the war. In connexion with highway construction, there are two outstanding items of work : one is to build highways to link up the different provinces in the South-west and the North-west with neighbouring countries, and the other is to improve upon the standards of construction of important trunk highways in grade, curvature, surfacing and drainage. Among the most important of these constructions are the completion of the Yunnan-Burma and Kwangsi-Indo-China highways, building of China-India highway, and improvement of Kansu-Sinkiang highways. Before

the war there were 50,000 motor vehicles in China, of which 8,000 were trucks. At present out of 20,000 vehicles, 16,000 are trucks. These figures do not include those in military use. Motor trucks are far too few to cope with the demand of the Government and the people. It is of great interest to note that the manufacturing of motor car parts and accessories has made great strides during the war, and that in the search for substitutes for gasoline, China has introduced new processes like cracking of wood, and substitute oils, manufacture of alcohol, and production of gas plants, which have been developed on a large scale.

4. WATERWAYS :

Before the war, there were approximately 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons of shipping in the service along the China coast and inland waterways. Of this tonnage, 600,000 tons were owned by the Chinese companies, 400,000 tons were operated by foreign companies, mainly British and Japanese, and 500,000 tons were chartered from foreign companies, mainly Norwegian and Swedish. Ocean-going steamships, which made regular calls at Chinese ports, such as the American *President* and the British *Blue Funnel* liners, are not included in the figures. The shipping losses in this war are extremely heavy. Today there are only 110,000 tons of steamships remaining in the Upper Yangtze and other waters under Chinese control. The rapids on the Upper Yangtze make it impossible for vessels of deep draught to navigate, so that many larger vessels are forced to lie idle in inland waters for the duration of the war. Sailing boats, which occupied a minor place in shipping before the war, have again been brought into wide use. Steps have been taken to encourage their construction and to organize them into fleets for transport.

5. POSTAL SERVICES :

Postal routes at the end of 1942 totalled 401,535 miles, an increase of 11,991 miles over the pre-war figure of 389,877 miles. The length of those postal routes which require the use of communication by mechanical power has been reduced to the minimum, and human and animal power has been substituted to a large extent. The number of staff members and postmen has been increased from 28,011 since the outbreak of the war to 41,041, as postal services in the interior and rural districts have been increasing.

6. AVIATION :

Both aviation and highways made great strides during the decade preceding the war. Principal cities and ports were linked up by two major aviation companies; one is the Chinese National Aviation Company, a Sino-American joint concern, and the other the Eurasia Aviation Company, established by China in co-operation with Germany. Both have contributed greatly to national and international flying in China. The Eurasia was taken over by the Chinese Government upon her severance of diplomatic relations with the Nazis in 1940, and has been recently reorganized as the Central Aviation Company. In addition to domestic flying, the C.N.A.C. is maintaining the China-India service. A Sino-Russian Aviation Company was established in 1939, and in

co-operation with the Central Aviation Co., maintains the Sino-Russian service.

7. TELE-COMMUNICATIONS :

The pre-war long distance telephone system consisted of 36,000 miles, and the telegraph system consisted of 63,000 miles. Some 20,000 miles of long distance telephones remain in Free China, and in addition 22,000 miles of new lines have been built. Of the telegraph system, 32,000 miles remain in Free China, and 28,000 miles of new lines have been built. In terms of area and population, the telegraph and telephone net of China is better served today than before the war. Radio communications with western countries have been satisfactorily maintained. Transmission carriers' equipment has been widely adopted. Underground installations of tele-communication control sets in Chungking provide an encouraging example. Recently radio photo and facsimile services have been opened to the public.

The war has demonstrated the efficiency of the organization and the ability of the men engaged in transport and communication. Chinese engineers have built railways, highways, bridges, tunnels, air-fields, etc. with commendable speed and standard. Transportation men have shown skill and bravery in handling military movements during the various critical stages of the war. The past record is gratifying. However, in view of the magnitude of post-war reconstruction, China will require many more engineers and experts than she has.

